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CONTENTS

PAGES

The Mysticism of Time (in the Purāṇas)—
By Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D. .. .. 291—307

The History of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins—
By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A. .. .. 308—331

Advaita Vedānta—
By P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A. .. .. 332—338

Private Life of the Peshwas—
By V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A. .. .. 339—344

Tripura Rahaśya—
By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer .. .. 345—357

Studies in Bird-Myths, (New Series) No. III—
The Pigeon and the Sparrow in Nepalese Folk-Song
By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L. .. 358—361

A Note on the Terra-Kotta Figures at
Pondicherry—By S.S. .. .. .. 362—363

Reviews :
Guide to Halebid; Guide to Seringapatam; and Guide to Talkad, by Dr. M. H. Krishna; Visit Mysore; Where to Go and What to See in Mysore; Holiday Touring in Mysore; Where to Go and What to See in Bangalore; Picturesque Mysore; Mysore State Railways—Majestic Mysore; Travel in Mysore; Living Buddhism; Revealing India's Past; Modern Mysore; Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Vol. XII, 1937; Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal; Kausambi in Ancient Literature; Unity Through Religion; The Library of the India Office, A Historical Sketch; Nyayakulisa or the Lightning Shaft of Reason; Sri Munisuvrata Kavya; Gnanapradipika and Samudrika Sastram; and Panjalamkuruchi Veera Charitram—Part I .. .. 364—376

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THE MYSTICISM OF TIME

(in the Purāṇas)

By Dr. Mohan Singh

I

Mysticism is the vision of Truth : Time is relative and absolute, greatest and smallest, *Reṇu* and the age of *Mahā-Viṣṇu*, through both of which it is connected with space. It is in fact threefold : *Sthūla* or gross, *Sūkṣma* and *Satva*. It is not only related to space but to sound, to *Prāṇa* or energy, to weight, to speech (thought and writing) and to number. Everything teaches us the path to God ; Time does that through Sun, Moon, and Stars, seasons, day and night, etc., and through its relations with the others. The politics of time is correspondential with the politics of Eternity : so is the metaphysics of Time. By analogy, identification and synæsthesia, Time imparts not only the laws of spiritual attainment to His disciples but also of social organization, economic order, chemical processes, psychological stages, physical, biological, geological and mathematical combinations. The study of Time throws light on the truths of space and causation (the *guṇas*) as well.

Time is as much His Form as is Space, as is Causation. The soul of Time for us is the Sun, Moon and Stars. The Soul of the Vedas and the *Purāṇas* is Time. Gods are Time. History—Geography repeats what causal Time (—Space) represents. The cycles of Time picture for us and through that picturization reveal to us, the cycles of our Being, Becoming. Ultimately Time resides in the Soul and the *Puruṣa*, and like its parent *Prakṛti* helps us to transcend it and its mother (—father). The Highest Time, life of a Brahma-Viṣṇu-*Mahēśa*, is present in the lowest, smallest Time—a *Reṇu*, the smallest space-time unit, 1/27,000th of a second, and in a day-night.

The *Devas* and *Devatas* are not merely attribute-entities; they are space-entities (*Lokapālas*) and time-entities as well. The names and forms and numbers and actions of persons and places and objects in the Vedas and the *Purāṇas* are time-space-causation names, forms, numbers; and actions,—fundamental, and pre-earth, pre-history, pre-geography. The realization of these correspondences and co-efficients teaches us Unity and foretells the course, which Multiplicity adopts in all countries and ages and languages and philosophies. Time-names refer to space and causation-processes and stages as well. The earth, as the grossest, the fifth, and all the other fifths, reproduce the pattern in the Upper and the Middle regions. Great men here enact the great time-events in the *Upper* two, in the *Preceding* two, in the *Higher* (philosophically-psychologically) two. *The History of Men is the history of the Stars; of the stars is that of the mind-born Devas* and *Ṛṣis and Rākṣasas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas—the five races.* Such typical history of the *Devas* constitutes the *Veda* and the *Darśana*; such history of the stars constitutes the *Purāṇa* and the *Smṛti*. Both the *Veda* and the *Purāṇa* include all the three *Karma, Bhakti and Jñāna* aspects of Time-Space-Causation and as a web of corresponding times, numbers, spaces, attributes, regions, functions, names, forms, etc., drawn from all the three regions, they make the eternal wisdom they are, make His Self-revealed and hidden. But as the *Puruṣa* in his outermost is co-extensive, co-eval and co-efficient, is one with Him hidden

in the cave[1] of the heart, therefore, the largest and the smallest Time is both outside and inside us, in the human body and the bodies of the Tree, the Boar, the Porpoise, the Man-lion, etc. So is Space there and so is Causation. The mind-born Devas, Ṛṣis, Metres, *Maṇḍalas*, etc., are as much above and in the mid-sphere as on earth and in the human frame; so are, in the latter, the stars, etc., as solar and lunar dynasties and incarnations, and as the ten or more *Prāṇas*, etc. And such correspondential reproduction, infinitely varied and eternal, obtains in every day—night, in every country and age in its own thought and action, in every *Deva* and man; the reproduction of the *Devic* and *Bhautika* processes, stages, etc. Every place and person and day-night has the morning, the noon and the evening, preceded and followed by a night; its circle of sun and moon and stars; so has had every place and person the *Ṛg*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*; *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛt* and *Apabhraṃśa*; the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti*; the solar and the lunar conjunctions and dynasties. Every country has had and has and will have in its own *Kṛta* Yuga (besides the four time-incarnations) its revelation of the Veda in its own language, the Veda which in recounting the names and doings and praises of its gods and stars sets the pattern to be followed in its history and configuration and mental and moral evolution. Similarly, has and will have every man. We glibly and irreverently talk of the connection of all we have and are with the Sun, Moon and stars, seasons, etc.; could we import into our study of these in relation to individual, national and geographical progress, some imagination, some sense of wonder, we would write a new *Ṛg*, renovate the fire and call up the gods. But it is not for us to write that. He who wrote on the leaf of heaven and mid-region the Words of Truth with the ink of light and shade, which words appear to us as the suns, the moons, the stars, the nebulæ, etc., the same Person has written and will write on the tablet of the Seer's eye, the *Yogi's* heart, the Words of Truth on the day

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[1] Time and Space in their uttermost, that is, a Universe, is said to be but a pore of the body of the *Mahāvirāṭa*.

when the earth, *Pṛthivi*, as His sixteenth or eighteenth or third emerged and emerges fresh from His hands, dropped and drops down first from His tusk, up from the waters wherein it had been and will be hidden by the stealer. And He, the Time-Space-Causation, reveals Himself full, His enigmatic all-inclusive infinite wholeness, which Time-Space-Causation take eternity to unfold. Many mine and yours be that wholeness to love, to admire, to touch.

II

The extracts below are from a book which in time represents the *Vaivasvata Manu*, and the months of summer solstice; in form the fish[2]; in attribute *Tāmasa* or *Bhakti*. It has similar correspondence in order, which is 16, and in number, which is 14,000. From its own angle of vision it begins itself at this point on the circle. To the other *Purāṇas* it appears to begin and end elsewhere. Of itself it says (I, p. 165):

The Matsya Purāṇa.—The *Purāṇa* in which the Lord has related the glory of *Nṛsiṃha* to *Vaivasvata Manu* at the beginning of the *Kalpa*,[3] with a view to propagate the *Śrutis*, in the form of a fish, and in which the Lord has also described about the seven *Kalpas*. It contains 14,000 ślokas. One who gives this *Purāṇa* away in charity along with a golden fish and a cow at the time of the *summer solstice*, acquires the benefit of giving in gift of the entire earth.

Now, the Lord *Vāsudeva* is to be worshipped during the *Nakṣatrapuruṣa Vrata* as follows. He should commence to worship it from the month of *Caitra* at the time when the moon is in the *Mūlā* asterism. This vow is beneficial to widows. He should recite the following *mantras* on the various limbs of the image of *Nārāyaṇa*, beginning from the feet and ending with the hair of the figure:

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[2] *Comparative Religion*, Carpenter, p. 171: In the vast prehistoric period before the Flood, the people round the lower Euphrates had lived without rule or order, like the beasts of the field, till a wondrous Fish-Man, whom the Greek historian called Oannes, appeared out of the Persian Gulf with wisdom from the sea.

[3] *Kalpa* is of three kinds: *Brahma*, *Varāha* and *Padma*.

14. *Namaḥ Matsyāya.* Then the nails of the *Matsya* (Fish) should be worshipped sacred to the *Āśleṣā* asterism.

17. *Namaḥ Nṛsiṃhāya Danavasūdanyāya*, on the mouth, sacred to the *Puṣya* asterism—Man-lion.

In the worship of the *Sun-Śiva*, the *Āśleṣā* asterism and Fish and Man-lion and *Puṣya* appear as follows:

....The *Vrata* called *Āditya Śayana Śankarārcana*.... a Sunday when there is *Sankrānti* and the 7th day of the dark fortnight and when the moon is in the *Hasta* asterism....the images of *Umā* and *Maheśvara* should be worshipped.

With 21 *Ambhoruvallabhāya namaḥ*, on the forehead along with the *Puṣya-Āśleṣā.*

With 22, *Vedaśarīrādhāriṇē namaḥ*, on the crown of the head, along with the *Āśleṣā* asterism.

In the *Rōhiṇī Candra Śayanavrata* the names of the moon are to be recited in the worship. The Vedic mantra for such worship is *Sōmāya Varadāyathā Viṣṇave Ca namō namaḥ.* The gods, Moon, and *Visṇu*, are to be saluted. The devotee is to return to his home after the bath, worship *Madhusūdana* by offering fruits and flowers and singing the names of Moon-*sōma* as given below. When the full-moon falls on Monday or when the *Rōhiṇī* asterism falls on the full-moon day, the learned should bathe with *pancagavya* and mustard and after that should recite *Āpyāsva* mantra 108 times.

We have read of the mouth and the nails, and the forehead and the head. In Moon worship we have these thus:

After reciting (8) *Candrāya namaḥ*, the mouth should be worshipped. *Udadhipriyāya namaḥ* the forehead and after reciting *Śaśāmkāya namaḥ* the head of *Murāri.*

The Lord Fish said: The rules about tanks, etc., as laid down in the *Itihāsa* and the *Purāṇas* by knowers of the Veda. At the end of the *summer solstice* the man performing the ceremony should get the preparatory rites to the observance performed in an auspicious *bright fortnight*....The pits should be 7 in number and the circles should be 3 inches (*parvas*; digits) in height. Flags and buntings of the same colour should be on all sides. In the four directions arches of

the twigs of the *Aśvattha, Udumbara, Plakṣa* and *Vaṭa* trees should be made.

....25 *Ṛtvijas* (8 *Hōtas*, 8 *Dvārapālas*, 8 *Jāpakas* and 1 *Purōhita*)...The *turtle*, the *crocodile* should be made of gold, the fish and the unvenomous water-snake....the frog and the crab....the porpoise fish....draw up a ring with powders of five colours....Afterwards images of planets and the regents of the world should be established in the proper directions on the different altars, after reciting the Vedic hymns prescribed for the occasion.

In the east should be seated the *Vahavṛchas* (the two priests named in the *Ṛg*), in the south the 2 *Dvārapālas* (learned in the *Yajur Veda*)....

Then the knowers of the *Ṛg*, seated in the east should separately mutter the formulæ of *Rātrisūkta*, *Rudrasūkta*, the auspicious *Pavamānasūkta* and *Puruṣasūkta*....

In the morning the worshipper should give away cows to the Brāhmaṇa, *100* cows or *68* or *50* or *30* or *25*.

Later on, on some auspicious day and hour, as calculated by the astrologer (*Sāmavatsara*), the worshipper should give away....

The consecration of tanks in the rainy seasons and autumn begets the fruits of the *Agniṣṭōma* sacrifice and of the *Vājapeya* and *Atirātra* sacrifice in the seasons of *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*. The consecration in the *Vasanta* begets the benefits of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and of the *Rajasūya* in the summer season.

The Lord has said that one who performs the ceremonies mentioned above with the mind purified by the scriptures and with full faith in them, goes to the region of *Śiva* and resides in heaven for many ages. Afterwards that man goes and enjoys in higher regions and remaining there for the full life of Brahma to the extent of two *Parārdhas* gets emancipation and enters into the highest stage with Viṣṇu. And all this he gets through the merit acquired by the performance of this ceremony.

Here ends the 58th Chapter dealing with the consecration of tanks, reservoirs, etc.

A few more lines left out are given:

Afterwards, according to the prescribed rites, offerings should be made to *planets, Indra, Īśvara, Maruts, Lōkapālas* and *Viśvakarma.* After establishing the images of *Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī* and *Ambikā* and *for the peace of the Universe,* the images of the group of the *Bhūtas* should be established. But the family *Ācārya* should be worshipped with double the number of things offered to the *Ṛtvijas.*

The sacrificial posts should be made of the glomerous *fig,* measuring 3 *cubits* with closed fist in length of the hand of the sacrificer. It is also auspicious to get them made of the *size of the worshipper.*

The *Brāhmaṇa* who has all the virtues in him, who is able to restrain his passions, and knows the *mantras,* is calm and belongs to a good family should be chosen to perform the functions of the *Purōhita.*

III

And all this is said in reply to the question asked by king *Vaivasvata Manu* from Lord *Matsya*; the question was: Who was lying in the water in the form of fish, when should the sacrifice be performed and what feasts should be employed therein and what kind of altar should be made for the occasion to consecrate a newly built tank, well and pool, grove and temple, what fees to the officiating priest and sacred offerings to the deity should be made, what are the proper *time and place* for this observance and what preceptor should be appointed.

Who can deny after reading the answer of the Lord Fish that here is the whole mythology and philosophy of the Veda, the whole gamut of Time and its Place and *Guṇa-Karma* correspondence with the full quota of names, forms, numbers, colours, directions, year, month, season, fortnight, day, planets, priests, Mantras, music, goddesses, pictures, *Bhūtas,* geometry, sacrificial objects, etc.

It is not merely the worship, naming of the God; it is the worshipper, through giving of objects, ideas, words, self, etc., of everything else in the universe, worshipping, that is, putting oneself in contact with, God, for we read:

I. The 25 *Ṛtvijas* arrayed in ornaments of gold, should be presented with golden ear-rings, armlets, rings and different kinds of cloth, without making any difference between them.

II. The family *Ācārya* should be worshipped with double the number of things offered to the *Ṛtvijas.*

III. After that the worshipper should give away in charity the things liked by him the best, along with a bedstead.

IV. The worshipper should bathe in the water of different herbs....and enter in company of his consort, sons and grandsons, etc.

V. ....while the music of drums is playing.

VI. Sacrificial fuel and butter should be offered to the Fire.

VII. ....He should place the alligator, fish, etc., in a pond. Then he should worship the abovementioned cow standing in water—and should afterwards make it swim in the water, facing towards the north.

VIII. The learned should draw up a ring with powders of 5 colours ......images of the planets and the regents of the world should be established in the proper directions on the different altars, after reciting the Vedic hymns.

IX. Then the tank should be worshipped.

X. Afterwards *hōma* sacrifice should be performed for 4 days.

IV

Who performed these sacrifices and when? None in the material form; some with speech, in mind; whoever wants to do, does it today and will continue to do so. The tank, the tree, etc., are as much else in the heaven and mid-heaven, as on earth and in the human body, in the human thought-speech. They are like every other type of form in space as much as in time and in causation. Hence my thesis that the *Veda* is all mysticism, like the *Purāṇa* and that through analogy, identification, prayer, worship, contemplation, narration, analysis of function, interrelation, all-inclusiveness,

it weaves the mystic web which is Mysticism of Time primarily, for life—*Rajas*—is Time to us more intimately ; of course it is Mysticism of Space, and of Attribute-Causation as well for life is Space too ; it is *Sat* but it is also *Chit* and *Ānanda*.

God, the most Ancient *Sachchidānanda*, the *Mahā-Virāṭ*, during the course of His manifestation, life, performs these *Yajñas*, *Vratas*, *Dānas*, praises, etc., to Himself, for Himself, through Himself, at the proper seasons, fortnights, days and hours. *And at his performances the Veda is the Priest. He performs, that is, He is as the particular new phase in Time, in Space and in Causation ; He is the new movement of the Sun, Moon, Stars, seasons, etc. ; He is the new form in Space, as mountain, river, temple, tank, tree, boar, etc. ; He is the new attribute, a new Vibhakti in His Guṇas, a new* philosophy and *Yoga*, a new *Darśana*, a new *Veda*, a new *Smṛti*, *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, *Code*, a new *Ṛṣi*, etc. We merely in our love of Him repeat, imitate in mind, through cognition of these forms of Him in the heavens and on earth and thereby share in His life harmoniously, co-operate with Him, give Him back just as He gives us, by giving to His gods, stars, men ; and we give the products, and do all else which He in that Time and Space is ; and from His particular *Guṇa* phase derive our Codes,[4] our laws, etc.

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[4] *MP.*, I, p. 138. There was a partial incarnation of Nārāyaṇa as *Dharma* at the end of the *Cākṣuṣa Manvantara* when the *Devas* performed a sacrifice at the beginning of the *Vaivasvata Manvantara*.

At this incarnation Brahma was the officiating priest. This was the first incarnation. There was another incarnation of the Supreme Soul. When the *Devas* were in distress, *on the fourth day of the Moon* which was the anniversary of the beginning of a *yuga*, Lord *Viṣṇu* manifested Himself on the sea-coast. He incarnated Himself as *Nṛsiṃha* for the destruction of *Hiraṇyakaśipu*. *Rudra officiated as the sacrificial priest* (*Brahma Vaivarta Purāna*, I, p. 18). *Śiva* worshipped Him for *100 Manvantaras*. For the same period, He was worshipped respectively by *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu and Dharma* who are venerated on that account. For the same period He was worshipped by *Ananta*, the *Sun*, the *Moon* and *Indra*. *Vāyu* after having worshipped Him. . . .became the support and the life of all.

It need hardly be added that Time itself manifests as the Father of Time; Time is a part in appearance, but the whole at the centre and His grossest and subtlest forms are co-extensive, co-eval and co-efficient, and interrelated at every step with space and causation. Thus the *Yugas* are not merely outside us but inside us also; they are in the *Kalpa*, in the year, in the day, and the same phenomena, same numbers, etc., which appear from a year to a *Praḷaya*, obtain in one day and night, from a *Rēṇu* or *Nimēṣa* to a *Yāma*. Thus to understand one " day and night" of time or even a *Nimēṣa* in all its interrelatedness to space-consciousness and *Nimitta*-causation is to attain the treasures of Mysticism or Divine Perception. For we are told that He is the spiritual *Yōga* and the Astronomical *Yōgas*; He is not only the *Mahākāla* but the *Kāṣṭa*; He as *Kāla*, *Yama*, *Mṛtyu* is Him whom both the *Yōgi*, and the astronomer, both the sacrificial priest and the *Vedāntin*, look up to, worship, contemplate and unite with.

V

A very good account of Time-divisions and corresponding space-divisions and stages, expressed through co-existent names and numbers is found in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, I, pp. 106–108. The Dispensation of time and number is the Dispensation of *Dharma*, and the *ācāras* and *āśramas* and *varṇas* are but the features expressed in terms of spirit and mind, of the different seasons; the mystical or conventional seven *dvīpas*, mountains, seas, rivers, *lōkas*, *pātāls*, as well as the two paths, are the *Vedānta* realization—all its stages—expressed in terms of space. The *Devatas* are Time-*Vedānta* (*Kāla-Rudra*) stages expressed in terms of space, the three regions and the two bodies of *Puruṣa* and the man. Perhaps the reader will like an example or two. The Two *Ayanas* are the divisions of the egg; they are the two intellectual *Mārgas*, *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti*, they are *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, they are north and south or east and west, the two *Pakṣas*, the light and dark. The fundamental time-numbers are: 7 (days), 16 (lunar days), 12 (months), 6 (seasons), 2 (*Pakṣas*), 2 (*Ayanas*),

4 (*Pahars* of day), 4 (*Pahars* of night), 30 (days), 1 (month), 1 (year), 5 (kinds of a year). Revolution is man's action and divine radiation. 360 (human *Yugas* constituting 1 Divine year); 7 (Divine *Yugas* = 1 *Manvantara*); 25 (*Indras* = 1 day and night of *Brahma*); 108 (years of Brahma's life after which he falls).

In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, II, p. 63, we read :—

"He is the Sun among objects effulgent, the moon among stars, the *Svāyambhuva Manu* among the *Manus*, spring among seasons, the month of *Agrahāyaṇa* among months, *Ekādaśī* among the 15 lunar days, gold among metals, *Vṛhaspati* among the 9 planets, *Indra* among the regents of the quarters, the *Vedas* among religious books, *Sarasvatī* among the learned, *Viśvakarmā* among architects, the *Dharma* amongst virtuous deeds, truth among pious acts."

This elucidates our point, that here we have the beginnings, the seed-causes of the different manifestations of Time-Space-Causation; they are the ultimates and the Time ultimate is *Svāyambhuva Manu*, that son of Brahma who is Self-existent, that Mind which is born of the Supermind. Time (together with space and causation) is here shown as a product the First Relative, the Supermind, the Creative Brahma and all the first relatives or creation-beginnings are connected with Brahma; here we have Veda, Dharma, Sarasvatī, Indra, Jupiter, the Nov.-Dec. month, the 11th of the bright or dark fortnight, the spring. These are all correspondential.

I have, I trust, made it clear that, to quote *BVP.* again, p. 81, "the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas* recite *His deeds*", which are archetypal, eternally recurrent, ever-new but that even the *Vedas* and the gods cannot determine the number of the *Brahmās*, the *Viṣṇus* and the *Rudras* in the whole creation sustained by the might of *Hari*. It follows from the above that those deeds of His when treated in greater detail as *Yajñas*, webs, which weave in every corresponding object in every plane, stage, etc., of Time-Space-Causation, are not to be considered as actual historical acts or real, factual processes or details even to be representationally followed materially

but are a revelation, an injunction, an ordinance, a secret, a purification inasmuch as what God does in nature, man should do in himself, on the mental plane, on the plane of ideas, contemplation, leaving the results to take the natural course of the whole. Mentally man has to co-operate with, put himself in tune with Him, understand through these scientific, analytic expositions, photos of His workings and thus co-operate with Him, give Him back what He has given us through His sacrifice. I maintain that these instructions, etc., in the *Vedas*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Smṛtis* are either detailed expositions, photos obtained through *Yōga*, of His deeds or deductions from His deeds, through analogy and identification for use in social and individual order—*Dharma*. Thus does *Veda* teach *Dharma*, teaches Truth, teaches morality and for every order, age, group of Time, Space and Attribute. That this is so in the case of both the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Itihāsa* and the *Smṛti*, is made clear from the fact that even the mere reading of these accounts, the mere utterance with *Shraddhā* of those *mantras*, the mere contemplation of those pictures is described as enough guarantee for *Mōkṣa*, for *Artha*, for *Dharma* and for *Kāma*. Secondly, the conditions attached to the ordinances, the *Vratas*, the *Dānas*, the Feasts, the Festivals, the buildings, etc., are impossible of fulfilment in all their bearings. Both the priest and performer are to be pure in heart and body, self-controlled, devoted and in complete harmony with Time-Space. This is illustrated, for instance, in the condition laid down for the *Purōhita* who helps to perform the First *Vrata* described in this book. The same thing is true of the *Vratas*, *Yajñas*, *Hōmas*, etc., mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. The secret is let out in the Upaniṣads where it is clearly laid down that there is only one kind of *Yajña*, mental, and that it is concerned with *Prāṇa* and *Manas*, the *Yajña* of *Prāṇa* or *Rāja Yōga* and the *Yajña* of *Manas* or *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Yōga*. In all accounts faith and knowledge are emphasized as essential, enough, and above all *Karma*, which may be done by a mistaken conception of the purpose of human and Divine *Karma*. The very

works which exalt *Karma* and prescribe it or expound philosophy, the very *mantras* which expound and portray His *Karma*, talk of Him as Beyond any *Sakāma-Karma Yōga* and lead us to see Him as Truth, as self-hidden in the cave of our heart, pointing out that all *Karma* with a purpose merely brings to us as fruit *Bhōga* in time and space, and of a particular kind to be followed by fall, by pain, by darkness, etc. Here are some quotations from the *BVP.* (I, p. 16):

I. Mental abstraction, practice of devout austerities, acts of charity of various kinds, performances of rites and ceremonies, virtuous deeds and acts of fame, truthfulness, fasting, adoration of gods and goddesses, the sight of gods, sevenfold circumambulation round the seven islands, ablutions in 7 oceans, the sight of different kinds of heavens and lastly the attainment of the position of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* or *Maheśa*. There may be other objects more desirable than those enumerated above, but none among the first-named (8 divine attributes) or last-named (9 *Siddhis* and the remaining holy acts) could hold candle to the 16th part of the infinitesimal portion of the faith which thy believers cherish for thee. The happiness which can be secured by such faith cannot be obtained elsewhere.

II. (p. 81). The *Vedas*, the *Purāṇas*, *Brahmā* and other gods could not adequately recite His glory.

III. (II, p. 64). After giving the hymn to *Kṛṣṇa*, the *Purāṇa* says:

Whoever in the morning, noon and evening reads the above hymn attains the fourfold objects of human pursuit and acquires the bondage of Hari as well as firm faith in Him. He gains all sorts of perfection. He is adored by all and attains the rank of *Viṣṇu*. . . . Even in his life-time he acquires the glory and splendour of the Sun. He is rendered exempt from all kinds of disease and becomes the asylum of all the virtues. He

acquires celebrity through his knowledge. He is redeemed in his life-time. He gains proficiency in the six *Darśanas* (six different visions of Him).

IV. The *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas* know that they contain more than his deeds; As and like His deeds they hide His, reveal His mystery. (II, p. 393). "O Lord of the Universe, why are the eclipsed sun and moon held polluted and why in both the halves of the month on the 4th day of the lunar month is the moon polluted? *You are the father of the Vedas*; without you, whom else shall I ask concerning the desired and *mysterious subjects in the Vedas and the Purāṇas.*" The Lord said, "Those who know the Vedas have prohibited me from revealing the matter to any one"....The Lord said, "The sins committed by a man are reduced to ashes if *he attends to this narrative*....By attending to (it) a man is purified and shares the fruits which may be reaped by him by ablutions in the holy rivers. (The astral conjunctions equate with and are described in the terms of rivers in confluence.)

V. (*Matsya*, I, pp. 175, 181, 172, 169).

I have quoted from the *Matsya* about certain time-*Vratas*. At the end of the descriptions of most *Vratas*, *Dānas*, Baths, etc., we have statements like the following :—

One who *reads or listens* to this form of ordinance gets pure intellect and goes to heaven where he is venerated by the *Devas*.

(*Rōhiṇī Candrasāyana Vrata*)

One who *hears or relates* to others these prescribed ceremonies goes to the region of *Brahmā* and is venerated by the *Devas*.

One who *reads or hears* about this *Ravisāyana* observance, endears himself to *Indra* and helps his deceased manes to go to heaven, from hell.

(*Ādityasāyana Vrata*).

> The married woman or the man who reads or hears the story of this observance with devotion will free himself or herself from all the sins by *hearing or reading* it.
>
> (*Nakṣatrapuruṣa Vrata*).

Thus *Śruti*, hearing ensures us revelation. The child learns by hearing. The father gave us words to hear and started us on the round course of Time-*Yugas*, *Yōga*. Hear instruction from God, from the Time-Space-Causation or Nature about you, hear the *Nāda* within you, hear these *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* stories and you will gradually follow the truth in them by remembering them when grown up and acting in accordance with the laws deducible from them, aiming not at His manifestations but at Himself for He, the Unity, is His own goal as well as ours. In *Śruti* is our release, our highest authority for, that as word, as *Sound*, as *Ākāśa*, as Ether, as Vibration, as all-container, the universal medium, the outer-most fulfilment—the link, the first sign of life—such *Śruti* is the First, typal and universal basic, both G.C.M. and L.C.M.

Having heard the fundamentals we shall have learnt to see, to decipher the details, the combinations and permutations as they rise before us. Even the list of the *Purāṇas*, the list of the greatest and smallest subdivisions of Time ensures us release. On page 166 of *Matsya*, I, we read : The learned know of the *Purāṇas* of the ancient (the causal) *Kalpa*. The recitation of this list of the *Purāṇas* is conducive to prosperity, fame and long life. He who reads or listens to it gets wealth, reputation, long life and *emancipation*. This list is the most sacred. It is the giver of fame and the destroyer of sins. It is very dear to the *Pitṛs* and is prized by the *Devas* as a nectar. It is external and destroyer of sins of all men.

And this list is the list of Time, astral, seasonal, yōgic in the shape of the names and short accounts of the major and the minor *Purāṇas*.

(*BVP.*, II, p. 15) Nārāyaṇa said :

> I am the soul, Brahmā is the mind, Śiva is the knowledge, Viṣṇu constitutes the five vital airs, and nature represents intellect.

(*Matsya* I, p. 68)

Charity performed a little after mid-day in the third part of the day in *Abhijit* or *Rōhiṇī* gives everlasting benefit. (*Ibid.*, p. 69)

Naimiṣa, the trysting place of all the *tīrthas* are also very dear to the *Pitṛs*.

VI

Compare Naimiṣa with Nimeṣa. Pitṛs = (Moon) Time, whole past, and Nimeṣa, a wink ; *tithi* = *tīrtha* and rivers or places for *śrāddha*, star *yōgas* or *grahas* and *karaṇas*. *Araṇyakas* (forests) are also star-conjunctions from where we have *Naimiṣāraṇya*, where the (time) *cakra* of *Viṣṇu* fell, which is the most sacred of all the *tīrthas* and where Lord *Varāha* (Sacrifice-Veda-Boar) is worshipped. *Ikṣumati tīrtha* where resides the God *Nṛsiṃha* is held very dear to the *Pitṛs* : it is on the confluence of the Ganges. *Kurukṣetra* is another most sacred place, where all the *Pitṛs* are always present. Kurukṣetra corresponds with, is etymologically, the Orion in the heaven and the sex-region or sex-belt, the *Mūlādhāra Cakra* in the human body. Similarly, *Jambu* is a space-time-phase and *Jambu-mārga* a *Pitṛtīrtha* whence the path of the *Pitṛs* is visible unto this day. It is in the human body, in *India*, in every one of the seven *Dvīpa* units. *Dvīpa* is also in the heaven, a star conjunction phase. Water is light, so the rivers, oceans and islands are astral-phases. One should link up *Tīrtha* with *Atiratha* and *Rathāntara*, and *tithi* with *Atithi* in *Śrāddha* and *Medhātithi* and *Rōhiṇī*, such a linking up leads to emancipation. In our Indian view, every science pleads for, reflects, leads up to Him (*ibid.*, p. 70). The mere recollection of these places gives great benefit ; what to say of those who perform *śrāddha* there ? But what about those who cannot contemplate these *tīrthas*, these time-space-causation units and phases and stages ? Well, for them who cannot visit these holy places, bathe, perform *Śrāddha* there and execute other ceremonial in mind (for that is the original purpose ; in practice,

as much as one can study and practise), for them we are told that *Satya tīrtha*, *Dayā tīrtha*, *Indriyanigraha* should be considered as *tīrthas*. Mark Indriyanigraha particularly. Understand Time and you become a mystic; conversely he who is a mystic knows Time. The lists of sacred places (like sacred times) contains *Ṛṣi* names, *Devatā* names, *Chhanda* names, river names, time-phase names, etc., thus teaching us the Mysticism of space. I shall end with simply giving some such names from the *Yōgas* or *Muhūrtas* or time-phases, conjunctions, and some place names. Let them be identified with the *Ṛṣis* and gods, etc., in the *Ṛg Veda* and let thus the mysticism of both the *Veda* and the *Purāṇa* be realized.

Yogas	*Muhūrtas*	*Holy places, rivers, etc.*
Viṣkumbha	Saṅgava	Indraphēnā (river)
Āyuṣmān	Uttama	Sōmapāna, the home of Vaiśvānara
Dhṛti	Rākṣasī	Sarāsvata
Dhruva	Kutupa	Kauśiki
Harṣanvajra		Ūrvaśī river
Śiva		Vaśiṣṭa
Sādhya		Hārīta
Siddha		Aśva
Śukra		Vedaśira
Brahmā		Vaikuṇṭha
Indra		Omkāra
		Buddha
		Indra kīla Mahānāda

THE HISTORY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 1, page 72*)

III

Having worked out the genealogy and chronology of this dynasty we shall now proceed to narrate in this section the history of this line of rulers as far as we can gather from the available sources.

The last king of the Vākāṭaka Dynasty was Harisēna in whose favour his father Dēvasēna resigned the kingdom. Dēvasēna's immediate ancestor was Prithvīsēna II the great king who had the unique honour of having raised the Vākāṭaka family which was twice sunken. The Vākāṭaka kings held sway, in the glorious days of that line, over the western portions of Bundelkhand, Baghalkand, Central Provinces, Berar, the Trikūṭa which was situated in the northern Konkan,[25] and the northern part of the Marathas up to the sea. Their feudatory empires included the south Kōśala, Āndhra, Mālwa and northern Hyderabad, from their Bhāraśiva inheritance.[26] This description reveals to us the vast extent over which the Vākāṭaka imperial rule extended. If the family of kings ruling over such a vast territory once, were to have sunk twice, and if Prithvīsēna is said to have raised the sunken family it necessarily implies that they must have lost much of their surroundings. Prithvīsēna must have raised the family from the utter end of dissolution. So then it happens that some years before Prithvīsēna II who is described as a receptacle of splendour and forbearance and

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[25] Dr. V. A. Smith also states that Trikūṭa is the region of the Konkan to the north of Bombay. *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 320 ff. See for more information about coins, etc., Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, especially Sections 42, 132, 134.

[26] Jayaswal, *History of India* (150–300), p. 64; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX.

who raised (his) sunken family, there had been established the rule of other kings or cheifs in some portions of the western part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom.[27] Again, in Trikūṭa and Malaya and other adjacent countries independent rule was set up. It is perhaps not improbable that Vikramēndravarman was one of such independent chiefs who, at this unfortunate period of the Vākāṭaka history, summoning up his resources raised himself to the position of a ruler. When the imperial power of the Vākāṭakas slackened, nay when the Vākāṭakas were threatened with disruption and were in a sunken state, he could have become an able ruler over the dominions which he annexed by the dint of his arms. Though the Trikūṭa country

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[27] The Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Gupta were issued from Nandhivardhana and this was the capital of the Vākāṭakas from the time of Prabhāvatī Gupta up to the time of Pravarasēna II, who founded a capital after his own name, Pravarapura. The capital of Pravarapura was shifted to Padmapura after Pravarasēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 209). The Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 100) were issued from Nandivardhana. Hence Bhavattavarman must have occupied the western portions of the Vākāṭaka dominions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 210). The Vākāṭakas at this time should have shifted their capital to Padmapura in the east where they had the support of their feudatories Mēkala and Kōśala (*ibid.*). An inscription of Bhavattavarman's successor has been discovered at Pōḍāgaḍh in the Jeypur Agency of the Vizagapatam District from which it appears that they had suffered great reverses. This shows that they were defeated and it might probably be at the hands of the Vākāṭaka Prithvīsēna II who is said in his Balaghat plates, to have raised his sunken family (*ibid.*). We are not able to say at the present state of our knowledge, whether Vikramēndravarman, of the dynasty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, was at first allied to Bhavattavarman or allied to the Vākāṭakas, though holding powers independent of them. The latter seems to be more probable. We note that it was Bhavattavarman's successor who suffered reverses and also that Vikramēndravarman's line continued to flourish. It is more probable that the Vākāṭakas were greatly assisted by Vikramēndravarman and his son Mahārāja Gōvindavarman who had the significant title Vikramāśraya. The bonds of support and friendliness was perhaps cemented by the matrimonial alliance of Harisēna's daughter with Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, the son of Gōvindavarman.

had been made his kingdom, yet we see that it was not for ever lost to the Vākāṭakas, for we find Harisēna according to the Ajantā inscription, conquered it along with Kuntala, Avanti, Kaḷinga, Kōśala, Lāṭa and Āndhra.[28] By this we are able to know that the kingdom of Trikūṭa and Malaya in his days was made subordinate to the Vākāṭakas. The time of Harisēna being *circa* A.D. 497–527,[29] the contemporary ruler of Trikūṭa and Malaya was Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarman Mahārāja, who thus owned the Vākāṭaka overlordship. It is quite possible that on account of this also the relationship between them was strengthened by the marriage of his daughter with Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, the son of Gōvindavarman. In a few years the kings of this line became famous and performed *Aśvamēdha* and other kinds of sacrifices significant of imperial power. Their imperial status (*Samrat*) was soon acknowledged. Thus the first ruler or founder of the new line of kings called the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, was Vikramēndravarman who meditated on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrī Parvata. The God Mahēśvara on the top of the hill of Śrī Parvata was their tutelary deity and almost all the members of the dynasty profess their obeisance to this god. The name of the dynasty 'Viṣṇukuṇḍin' perhaps still servives in Viṇukoṇḍa,[30] the name

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[28] *Arch. Surv. of West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 124 ff.

[29] K. P. Jayaswal had formulated a system of chronology for the Vākāṭakas with which we agree. The period of reign of all the sovereigns have slightly to be altered, for a new Vākāṭaka grant has recently been discovered and edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 81 ff. "The Pattan plates of Pravarasēna". Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty-third, furnished by his Dudia and Tirōḍi plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years, for it is dated in his twenty-seventh year of reign. As Jayaswal has given only a rule of twenty years to this king in his chronology of the Vākāṭakas we will have to shift the king's period by about seven years and consequently also to adjust the periods of rule of his successors. Thus the date of Harisēna becomes *c.* A.D. 497–527.

[30] It is also called the 'sky-hill'. This is perhaps a translated form of the name. Another explanation current about the word in the neighbourhood, is that it was the 'hill of hearing' and that it was

of a hill-fort and town in the Kṛṣṇa District lying south to the river Kṛṣṇa at a distnce of about fifty miles and lying east of Śrīśaila at a distance of about sixty miles.

The members of this line of kings who were the worshippers of the Lord of Śrī Parvata, were related to the imperial Vākāṭakas who were in their turn related to the imperial Guptas of Northern India. The precise date of any of the Kadamba dynasties is not yet made certain and at present all that can be safely said, is that they are to be referred to the sixth century A.D. It is certain that the rule of the early Kadambas in the Dekhan was displaced by the Cāḷukyas sometime before A.D. 570.[31] The crest of the Kadamba Dyansty was lion.[32] On the obverse face of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins[33] is a lion which is seen as if advancing, with its fore-paw raised, mouth wide open and the tail swung over the back so as to end in a loop.[34] Thus it is clear that it was the crest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. From this fact and from the information that the Vākāṭakas, the relatives of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, had also contracted

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so named for, Rāma is said to have heard when he was there, the sorrowful news of Sīta's abduction by Rāvaṇa.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165.

32 The Kadambas of Goa belonged to the same original stock with the Kadambas of Hangal and who in their turn assert genealogical connection with the Kadambas of Banavasi and who possessed the hereditary right to rule the Hangal District (*Bom. Gaz.*, pp. 558, 566). The Kadambas of Hangal had the lion crest and the monkey banner. And the Kadambas of Goa also had lion on their seals and coins. The seals of some of the grants of the Kadambas of Banavasi bear the lion emblem. This has wrongly been thought to be that of a dog. See *Bom. Gaz.*, p. 287 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 23, 25, 29.

33 Some of the coins that really belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins have been wrongly attributed to the Pallavas or Cāḷukyas, *e.g.*, see Smith's *Early History of India* : 'Indian Coins in the British Museum', coin No. 16, Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Pl. II, 49. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Pl. VII, 8. These Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins have on their obverse the figure of a lion to the right, and a vase on stand on the reverse.

34 A. R. on *S.I.Ep.*, for 1909. The kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin line had their own seals. They have come down to us, and are well executed and well-preserved and bear the lion emblem.

some matrimonial alliances with the Kadambas of their days, it seems probable that there existed family relationship between the early Kadambas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as well.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins ruled over Vēṅgi and South Kaḷiṅga.[35] Their rule spread southwards from their north-western home towards Vēṅgi.[36] They issued their charters from different places, either from their victorious camps or from residential places (*vasaka*). Their grants are all in Sanskrit with an admixture of Prākrit and Telugu. Their sway extended over a long portion of the Vizagapatam District also.[37] Many ancient coins bearing the figure of a lion and a vase on their sides, have been discovered in this district which clearly attest to their rule over these parts.

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[35] North Kaḷiṅga was ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas and the implications of the Jirjingi plates is not otherwise, *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 51.

[36] The grant of the Chikkulla plates was issued from the capital Lendalur near Ellore (*i.e.*, modern Dendulur, a suburb of Vēṅgipura, four miles away from Ellore) in the Gōdāvari District.

The Ajantā inscription of Harisēna (*Arch. Surv. of West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 124 ff.) declares that he conquered the Āndhra country. The major items of the achievements including the conquest of Āndhra might probably have been effected by either Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarma or Mahārāja Mādhavavarman for Harisēna, because we have seen that they owned the Vākāṭaka supremacy till that dynasty's end or it might be that the overlord claimed the conquests of his chief as his own. Āndhra must have represented Vēṇgi. We know that Vēṅgi was a part of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom and these conquests might have been the result of the endeavours of the two kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Dynasty for they are said to have been victorious in many battles and one of them is said to have performed many *Aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices. We also know that Mādhavavarman married a Vākāṭaka princess.

Ravirēva has been identified by Mr. Sewell with Raveralah 80 : 10 E 16. 50 N.

[37] It was not wholly in their possession for we find that Bhavattavarman's successor's Rithapur plates were discovered at Pōḍāgaḍh in the Jeypur agency of the Vizagapatam District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 153). His period was approximately the close of the reign of Vikramēndravarman, the dynasty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

We have seen above the origin and the foundation of the dynasty by the first king Vikramēndravarman, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrī Parvata. As was usual with all founders of dynasties, much of his energies must have been consumed in the foundation and the proper administration and fortification of the annexed territory. He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Gōvindavarman after a reign of about thirty years (A.D. 457–87).[38] Gōvindavarman had the title Vikramāśraya, and he is reported to have been victorious in several battles,[39] and this certainly indicates that only in his reign the kingdom was safe and free from foreign aggression and revolts. This title Vikramāśraya implies that he was the resort of prowess. We have seen that he owned the Vākāṭaka overlordship[40] and that the relations between the two families was cemented by the marriage of his son with a Vākāṭaka princess, probably a daughter of Harisēna. He is said to have performed gifts of cows and gold befitting his rank and honour.[41] His period of reign was about A.D. 487–517.

To this valarous king Vikramāśraya, was born Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who became one of the greatest kings of the dynasty. He was also a devotee of the Lord of Śrī Parvata. This Mādhavavarman had engaged himself in conquering and annexing territories in the early years of his reign and thus extending his dominion. As we know that after the Brihatipālāyanas, the Śālankāyanas held possession of Vēṅgi and ruled over Vēṅgipura, Janāśraya Mādhavavarman should have put an end to the Śālankāyanas very early in his reign, and ruled

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38 *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, p. 71.

39 Pulōmburu plates of Mādhavavarman adds " whose feet are shining with the lustre of gems contained in the crowns of the other kings ; who is the abode of prowess," *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 17 ff.

40 The fact that Āndhra was feudatory to the Vākāṭakas prior to the time of Prithvīsēna is an evidence pointing to the same conclusion.

41 " Ipur plates," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 334 ff.

over Vēṅgi. This great achievement may be placed in about A.D. 520, *i.e.*, in the first quarter of the sixth century. The subjugation of the city of Trivaranagara was another of his important achievements. At this time the lord of Trīvaranagara was Tīvaradēva,[42] who was a powerful king of the Sōmavamśi Dynasty that ruled over Mahākōśala. This event is of great importance in many respects. This achievement finds mention in both the Ipur and Pulōmburu plates of Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhavavarman in the words *Trīvara-nagara-bhavana-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*[43] or *Trīvara-nagara-bhavana-ghaṭa-yuvati-hridaya-nandanaḥ*.[44] This means that Mādhavavarman sported or delighted the hearts of the best ladies in the palaces of Trīvaranagara (the city of Trīvara). This Trīvara must be very possibly Tīvara[45] and stands for one of the famous Sōmavamśi kings of Mahākōśala. As Mādhavavarman delighted the hearts of a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the palaces of Trīvaranagara, it cannot be taken to mean that he married any one in the family of the king of Trīvaranagara. But this certainly indicates that he was at ease to delight the hearts of the ladies in the palaces of the city of another king, *i.e.*, Tīvaradēva. Thus it establishes the fact that Mahārāja Mādhavavarman had conquered Tīvaradēva who was a mighty king, and that the conquest was complete. That his claim of conquest of the Kōśala country was complete and was a matter of pride is now evident and after defeating the king of Kōśala he perhaps killed him in battle. Tīvaradēva was a mighty king and contemporary to him, and to have inflicted a crushing defeat on him and his armies was certainly a great achievement of the day. That he was doubtless the contemporary of Mādhavavarman can also be proved by another method. The Sirpur stone inscription belonging to the time of Mahāśiva Bālārjuna gives us to know that Bālārjuna's mother was a

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42 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 105, *prāpta sakala Kōśala-adhipatīyaḥ*.

43 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

44 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

45 Trīvara is clearly the sanskritised form of Tīvara.

certain Vāsaṭā by name who was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings great on account of the supremacy over Magadha".[46] We find that excepting the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman no king of that name is found in the list of kings in any of the other known dynasties of Magadha. Sūryavarman, the accomplished son of the Maukhari king has left an inscription, which says that while hunting he saw a small dilapidated Śiva temple and had it rebuilt. This was issued in the reign of his father Īśānavarman and the date of the inscription is 554 A.D.[47] The name of Sūryavarman is not known from the other records of the dynasty. But as the Sirpur stone inscription calls Sūryavarman king, it is probable that he might have succeeded his father and after a short reign died. So the time of Sūryavarman is approximately A.D. 554 and his daughter Vāsaṭā was Bālārjuna's mother, and these facts indicate to us that Candragupta, the grandfather of Mahāśiva Bālārjuna, must have lived about A.D. 550–80. Tīvaradēva was the brother and predecessor of this Candragupta and therefore his period was A.D. 520–50, and thus he happens to be the contemporary[48] of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman (A.D. 517–65). The next question that arises is when Mādhavavarman conquered Tīvaradēva. Two of the records giving in detail the achievement of Mādhavavarman, are dated in his thirty-seventh[49] and forty-eighth years of his reign. It is thus certain that it was accomplished already in or before his thirty-seventh year. It is very probable that he had conquered Tīvaradēva a few years before, *i.e.*, in his thirty-fourth or thirty-third year of reign (A.D. 550), when he might have killed Tīvaradēva in the battlefield. Thus as reported in the two plates, he seems

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46 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 113 ff.

47 *Ibid.*

48 Since the earliest record mentioning this achievement is his thirty-seventh year and as it should have been accomplished before that date, *i.e.*, before A.D. 554, it is certain that this date for him is correct and that he was doubtless his contemporary.

49 "Ipur p ates," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 334 ff.

to have occupied the capital of Tīvaradēva after the decisive battle.

The Balaghat plates of Prithvīsēna II, the illustrious king of the Vākāṭakas, tell us that Narēndrasēna, his father, was obeyed by the feudatory lords of Kōśala, Mēkhala and Mālwa. The late K. P. Jayaswal opined that Mēkhala included the Āndhra country. By the statement that Kōśala and Mēkhala were feudatories to the Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna, father of Prithvīsēna II, it is inferable that the kings of Śarabhapura owned their overlordship and they had their capital in Śarabhapura.[50] During the reign of Mahā Pravararāja, their capital was changed from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura, as is borne out by the fact that Mahā Pravararāja has issued his Thakurudia plates from Śrīpura. In this connection it is worth while remembering that Śrī or Lakṣmī figures in the Seals of the kings of Śarabhapura. She was their tutelary deity and the capital was accordingly named after her. No king is known to have reigned after Mahā Pravararāja who had made conquests in the west. While engaged in his western conquests he might have had to meet the Sōmavamśi kings of Kōśala. Perhaps his dynasty was put an end to by one of the kings of Śarabhapura, most probably Tīvaradēva, who has issued two plates from Śrīpura which we know was the capital of the Śarabhapura kings. Thus it becomes very probable that Tīvaradēva, the mighty king of the Sōmavamśi Dynasty, put an end to the kings of Śarabhapura, who were one of the feudatories of the Imperial Vākāṭakas. We know that Mahārāja Mādhavavarman was the greatest king of his dynasty and that he married a Vākāṭaka princess who was probably the daughter of the last known Vākāṭaka king Harisēna (*c*. A.D. 497–527). We have already seen that Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarman, the father of Janāśraya, was subordinate to the imperial rule of the Vākāṭakas. The imperial dynasty had come to an end in about A.D. 520 and a consideration of

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[50] The kingdom of Śarabhapura (south of Mahānadi river), was situated between Kaḷiṅga in the east and the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas in the west.

the above facts will make it clear that he was the only king of his day who could have had any sympathy for the Vākāṭakas and their feudatories. Further he was an imperial ruler and had performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and thousand other sacrifices. Thus he being a mighty imperial emperor found a just cause for interfering in the affairs of Trīvaranagara, whose lord had annihilated the Śarabhapura dynasty which owed allegience to the Vākāṭakas. Mādhavavarman thus waged wars with Tīvaradēva in about A.D. 550 (his thirty-third year) as has already been noted, and inflicted a defeat on Tīvaradēva and perhaps also killed him in the encounter. After his successful invasion he must have occupied Trīvaranagara, the capital of Tīvaradēva. This action of his was really an accomplishment over which he justly took pride.

Janāśraya Mādhavavarman performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and a thousand other *Agniṣṭōmas*[51] (*kratus*), *Hiraṇyagarbhas* etc., even before his thirty-seventh year. These indicate that he was a first rate imperial ruler and that he was suzerain over many kingdoms. He was waited upon by many bowing vassal kings. The imperial line of kings, known as the Vākāṭakas in Indian History, had become a dying name, for the last known king of that line was Harisēna whose end of rule is not later than A.D. 527 and it is but befitting to see that the position of an imperial ruler is filled by the illustrious Mahāraja Mādhavavarman. He had been extending his dominion in all directions and had married a Vākāṭaka princess. He had fought in the cause of the Vākāṭaka name and had made many sacrifices and *dānas*. He was fitly called Janāśraya[52] and Paramabrahmanya.[53] In his forty-eigth year this great king

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51 " *Agniṣṭōma* and *Ukatya* are two forms of sacrifices ; the former is a simple one day sacrifice in which a he-goat, sacred to Agni, is immolated and twelve hymnal verses are chanted ; the latter requires the immolation of a second victim, a he-goat to Indra and Agni, and a chanting of fifteen verses," *Ind. Ant.*, XLI, p. 78, n. 37.

52 The title Janāśraya means that he was a resort of his subjects, *i.e.*, a Dharmamahārāja.

53 He is also described as a worshipper at the feet of his father and mother *Mātāpitrupādānudyāta.*

launched upon the scheme of conquering the east. The cause that led him to this idea was either the subjugation of the east or the rebellion of his subordinate chiefs in that direction. That he did cross the river Gōdāvarī, in order to conquer the east, we know, and we are completely unaware of the result that followed his endeavour. The aim of Mādhavavarman in having entertained and practically launched on the conquest of the east after the reign of forty-seven years, must have been certainly due to some great disturbance. It might have been that the lord of the country which lay in that direction proved enemical. Mādhavavarman we know was a Vākāṭaka in spirit and had fought much for the cause of that imperial dynasty. It may not be far wrong to suppose that this campaign was also in some similar cause. We have seen that Bhavattavarman's successor came to rule in the territories that lay in or near Pōḍāgaḍh in the Jeypur Agency of the modern Vizagapatam District, which was in the east (*Prāg-dik*) to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom. The successors of Bhavattavarman might have continued to rule in the east and it was perhaps to conquer them as they had originally risen against the Vākāṭakas successfully in the time of Prithvīsēna II, that Janāśraya Mādhavavarman crossed the river Gōdāvarī. As the Pulōmburu plates of the forty-eigth year of this king do only inform us that he had crossed the river Gōdāvari in his attempt to conquer the Eastern Region, we are unable at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain the results of the expedition. It would not be far from the truth to conjecture that he should have been successful. It may also be noted that the Eastern direction (*prāg-dik*) was one which had been giving troubles often, for we find it stated that Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the grandson of Janāśraya, had to wage hundreds of thousands of battles and conquer the Chatur-dantas, *i.e.*, the elephants of the east. Janāśraya had also conquered the south-western region. There is a statement found in the work *Janāśraya-Chhandō-vichiti*, a work composed under his patronage. This is contained in a verse commencing with the words "*yēna prāmśum*, etc.," which compares king Janāśraya with the God Kumāra.

In this verse the epithet "*taruṇa-ravi-saḍriśa-vadanaḥ mayūra-dhvajaḥ*" is applied to Janāśraya and Kumāra, and the enemy overcome is indicated by "*śaśikiraṇa-kumuda-saḍriśaṁ Kraunchaśyāgram śaktyā bhinnaṁ*". So we learn here that Kumuda had been shattered by the power of Janāśraya.

That Janāśraya was also a patron of poets, men of letters, grammarians, rhetoricians and the like is clear from the discovery[54] of a new work on prosody named *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti.* It is generally well known that there are three schools of prosody. "The first is of Bharata, the second is of Piṅgala and the third of Janāśrayikāra." This work representing the last of the three schools, was a work written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya,[55] the king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin line. "The author was probably Gaṇasvāmin who appended a *bhāṣya* or scholium to it."

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[54] It was discovered by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., and published in *Tirumalai Śri Venkatesa Journal*, p. 133 ff.

[55] That he was doubtless the protege of Janāśraya will be evident on a consideration of the following :—

(1) The author of the work quotes poets and dramatists among whom may be mentioned Kālidāsa, Aśvaghōṣa, Bhāravi, Sundara Pāṇḍya and others. The time of the author of the work *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* is also the same as that of Janāśraya for the latest dates of both Bhāravi and Sundara Pāṇḍya are not later than A.D. 570.

(2) "The first verse of the work is in praise of a king called Janāśraya who performed a number of *Yāgas* (sacrifices) and made extensive conquests."

(3) By a consideration of the facts revealed in the Gōdāvarī plates of Rāja Prithvimūla, we learn that Kumuda, *i.e.*, the king of the south-western region attacked Supratīka, *i.e.*, Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the north-western region and was overthrown by the latter's officer or chief, Indrādhirāja. That the enmity herein indicted was an old one will be seen from the fact that *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* contains a verse commencing with the words *yēna-prāmśum*, etc., which compares king Janāśraya with the god Kumāra, and from this verse we learn that Kumuda had been shattered by the power of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya. Kumuda was the enemy against whom Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I, fought battles and won victories.

Besides the Vākāṭaka princess, Mahārāja Mādhavavarman must have had other queens. This is made plain by the special statement of Mādhavavarman II in his grant that he (belonged to the family of) the Viṣṇukuṇḍins[56] and also by the fact that Vikramēndravarman is called *vaṁśa-dvayālaṁkṛta janmanaḥ*. Janāśraya Mādhavavarman had by his Vākāṭaka queen a son named Vikramēndravarman and two other sons, born perhaps to other queens, by name Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka and Dēvavarman. Vikramēndravarman alone succeeded his father while Dēvavarman and Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka did not rule. We come to know of Mañchyaṇṇa only because he happened to be the *ājñapti* in his father's grant, dated in the thirty-seventh year of his reign and we hear of him no more. And Dēvavarman is said to have been victorious in many battles. This might perhaps indicate that he was fighting by the side of his father. No other adjunct is associated with his name and he is not called either Rāja or Mahāraja. Therefore it is certain that he did not rule at all. The son of Dēvavarman ruled over the western portions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions after his father, leaving Vikramēndravarman, who was born to the Vākāṭaka princess, to rule over the throne of his father in the eastern parts of the kingdom. Mādhavavarman ruled over Trīkūṭa[57] and Malaya for about forty-seven years

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[56] This conclusion is irresistible, else it is inexplicable why he should take pains to specially mention himself as belonging to the family of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337 ff.

[57] Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji has remarked that Trikūṭa is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvaṁśa* as a town of importance in Aparānta of the country along the Western Coast, *i.e.*, the Konkan. That Trikūṭa means Northern Konkan, north of Bombay Presidency, is certain and the facts that Trikūṭa and Malaya are spoken of together and ruled by one king make it clear that they were adjacent countries. Dr. Fleet and Jayaswal were of opinion that Trikūṭa indicated Konkan. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 294; and Jayaswal, p. 64, "Hist. of India (A.D. 150–300)," *J.B.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIX- I. It will also be plain that Trikūṭa and Malaya cannot be identified anywhere in the East. Dr. V. A. Smith was also of the same opinion, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 320 ff.

(*i.e.*, A.D. 565–612). He seems to have left no heirs and as we hear of him or of his successors no more, the collateral line ended with him. If the year forty-seven was his last year, his rule ended in *c.* A.D. 612 and by about this time Pulakēśin II should have acquired his kingdom. Only a single stone-inscription[58] has come down to us, belonging to a Mādhavavarman of this dynasty and we have every reason to attribute it to the reign of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman, the first of that name. The inscription was discovered on a white marble pillar near the entrance to the Rāmalingaswāmi temple at Velpuru, in the Sattannapalle Taluk, of the Guntur District. It is in Sanskrit and in archaic characters and is unfortunately damaged and built in. It belongs to the reign of Mādhavavarman I for the reason that it is in the District which was directly under his sway, and because Mādhavavarman II is distinctly called the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya far away from the place of the inscription.

At the end of Mādhavavarman's rule, who left behind him a vast dominion, the state of affairs must be made out. We are of opinion that the king was succeeded by his son Vikramēndravarman, who was born to him through the princess of the illustrious Vākāṭaka race. The question of his having ruled has been doubted. That he did rule though for a short period only after his father's demise, can be very easily made out as he is called *Rāja* in the Rāmatīrtham plates of his son Indravarman, and as *Rāja* Indravarman ruled for more than twenty-seven years. His reign was unfortunately not very eventful and the honour to which the charter writers associate his name was that he was born to the great Janāśraya Mādhavavarman and a princess of the Vākāṭaka race. Thus he was an ornament of both these families (*Visṇukuṇḍi-vākāṭa-vamśa-dvayā-laṁkrita-janmanaḥ*). This king according to our scheme of chronology ruled for about ten years. The most important event of the time of Vikramēndravarman was the division of the empire into two different units, a division that

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[58] No. 581 of 1925.

was natural or forced, as a result of which Mādhavavarman II became the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains and Vikramēndra and his sons continued to rule in his father's capital especially because he was born to the Vākāṭaka princess. The son of this noble king was Indravarman *alias* Indrabhaṭṭāraka, who succeeded him. While this was the case here, Mādhavavarman II, the son of Dēvavarman, was holding the Trīkūṭa and Malaya mountains, *i.e.*, the western provinces of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom. This Mādhavavarman, the second of that name, is particularly said to have been a descendant of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family, a worshipper of Śrī Parvatēśvara and to have been endowed with such fine qualities as modesty, honesty, polity, etc. The special mention of him in his own plates, as a descendant of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, is sufficient evidence to the fact that his father Dēvavarma was born to Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I through a princess of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin or some allied race. It thus makes a difference from Vikramēndra's birth, who was a son of Janāśraya, distinctly through a Vākāṭaka princess. Mādhavavarman II has left a record of his forty-seventh year of reign from Amarapura, and we hear of him no more. As none of his successors are known, it is probable that after his long reign of forty-seven years, he left no heirs to succeed him. His line was put an end to as we have already seen by the great Satyāśraya Pulakēśin II in about A.D. 612 and his territory annexed. We have seen that in the eastern part of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭāraka succeeded his father Vikramēndravarman, and reigned for more than twenty-seven years. He issued his Rāmatīrtham plates in his twenty-seventh year and in it he is reported to have been "victorious by encountering in hundreds of thousands of battles numerous four-tusked (elephants)" and that his lotus feet were "covered by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of the kings of four oceans."[59] The plates of his eldest son and successor Vikramēndravarman II not only recount these items

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[59] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 136, l. 5.

of glory but also add to the list some more which are worth noticing. The Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II contain the following statements. In it Indrabhaṭṭāraka is described as

(1) *Sphuran-niśita-nistriṁsa-prabh-āvabhāsit-āśēṣa-jagan-maṇḍalādhiṣṭhitasya*
(2) *Bhrū-bhaṅgakara-vinirddhūta-samagra-dāyādasya*
(3) *Anēka-çaturddanta-samara-samghaṭṭa-dvirada-gaṇa-vipula-vijayasya*
(4) *Yathā-vidhi-viniryyāpita-ghaṭik-āvāpta-puṇya-saṁça-yasya*
(5) *Satata-bhūmi-gō-kanyā-hiraṇya-pradāna-pratilabdha-puṇya-jīvit-ōpabhōgasya*
Paramamāheśvarasya Maharājasya Śrī Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varmmaṇaḥ.

TRANSLATION

(1) Who presided over all the provinces of the Earth resplendent with the lustre of his brilliant sharp sword.
(2) Who by the contraction of his eyebrows caused all his cognates to be scattered away.
(3) Who, with his elephant troops dashing, gained extensive victories in numerous Çaturdanta wars.
(4) Who obtained a good store of merit by opening *ghaṭikas* in accordance with the ancient precepts.
(5) Who enjoyed a meritorious life derived from his constant gifts of land, cow, girls in marriage and gold.

It will be clear from these that the first and third items have already been noted in the king's own plates of the twenty-seventh year of reign. These establish the fact that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was the overlord of several princes, *i.e.*, that there were many chiefs who were subordinate to him and that he was extensively victorious in numerous Çaturdanta wars. As Çaturdanta (four-tusked) is an elephant of Airāvata, the elephant of the east, Prof. Keilhorn has rightly suggested that this curious boast may refer to several victories gained in the eastern direction. Since the plates of the twenty-seventh year are the earliest reference of his successes

obtained in the east, we may say that he effected them before that year, *i.e.*, before A.D. 602. Who was his enemy in the eastern quarter and why he had to wage numerous wars are not clear from any references. The Chikkulla plates separately mention[60] that he defeated all the *dāyādas* in battle—*bhrūbhangakara-vinirddhūta-samagra-dāyā-dasya.*[61] Therefore it is clear that after A.D. 602, the twenty-seventh year of Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign, some attempts by the *dāyādas* were made and that Indrabhaṭṭāraka had to contend with them. There was no other *dāyāda*[62] for him except Mādhavavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains and who distinguished himself as having descended in the family of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Consequently, it seems certain that Mādhavavarman II made some attempts to annex the territories which were under Indrabhaṭṭāraka's sway.[63] In this attempt he was not successful and Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated the *dāyādas* in battle. That Indrabhaṭṭāraka's success mentioned in the plates was not a mere boast, but that he did fight with the Çaturdantas and that he was victorious is proved by the fact that the village he granted was situated in the Vizagapatam District which lay to the east of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions. The Gōdāvarī grant of Prithvīmūlarāja gives out the fact that a number of kings were actuated with the single object of overthrowing Indrabhaṭṭāraka and this implies that that king had created enemies all round by his aggressiveness ; otherwise, it is idle to think that without any such reason to prompt, out of mere wantonness all of them would have formed the design of overthrowing an innocent king. This at once extricates from

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60 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193 ff.

61 The items numbered are all made separate achievements of the king by the distinct use of the tense and case.

62 The passage in reference implies that he had more than one *dāyāda*. Therefore the others should have been Mādhavavarman's allies.

63 The root cause of all the *dāyāda* trouble is that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was the son of Vikramēndra who was a ' *Vaṁśa-dvayālaṁkṛta janmanaḥ* '.

the conflict, Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Cāḷukya line, who had been fated to reign only for a short period of a single week within which time he could hardly have done anything to cause a confederacy of several kings to rise against him. Another king of this name, known to us, is the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, who is said to have fought hundreds of thousands of battles against the Çaturdantas and to have successfully disposed off his *dāyādas*. His reign was a long one, and there are good reasons for supposing that he might have proved to be a thorn to the powers that surrounded his kingdom and there is a likelihood that the confederacy of kings was formed against him. A fact that is beyond question is, that Indrādhirāja and Indrabhaṭṭāraka, if he is identical with the one of that name in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family, fought hundreds of thousands of battles against the Çaturdantas, *i.e.*, the king of the eastern region. The Gōdāvarī plates inform that the Maṇalkuḍi inhabitant Mitavarma, the father of Indrādhirāja, gained victories again and again in battle over the Çaturdantas. It is not unlikely that he was the senior contemporary of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and fought under his standard against the same enemy and obtained a share of success. The same inscription reveals the fact, that from the side of the confederacy of kings, Kumuda, *i.e.*, the king of the South-Western Region, attacked Supratīka, *i.e.*, the king of the North-Western Region, *i.e.*, Indrabhaṭṭāraka; and was overthrown by the latter's officer or chief Indrādhirāja. Evidence from a different source is forthcoming to prove that the two families were on inimical terms even before, and also that the kings of the south-western direction had good cause for the dash that he made against Indrabhaṭṭāraka who must be no other than the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king of that name. This proof comes from *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*, a work on Sanskrit prosody of the time of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, the performer of many sacrifices. The able editor of this work, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, has shrewdly remarked that the verse in it commencing with the words "*Yēnaprāṁśum*," etc., compares king Janāśraya with the god Kumāra.

In this verse, the epithet '*taruṇa-ravi-sadṛśa-vadanaḥ mayūra-dhvajaḥ*' is applied to Janāśraya and Kumāra, and the enemy overcome by them is indicated by '*śaśi-kiraṇa-kumuda-sadṛiśam Krauñchasy-āgram śaktyā bhinnaṁ*'. If, as we learn here, Kumuda had been shattered by the power of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, little wonder there is that it was he that brought about the confederacy of kings to aid him against his enemy, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king who at the time of the Gōdāvarī grant was Mādhavavarman's grandson Indrabhaṭṭāraka and was the first to commence action in the war. Considering the fact that Mādhavavarman had a long reign extending to nearly half a century, there is every likelihood that his son Vikramēndravarman should have had a very short reign and that Indrabhaṭṭāraka should have followed him close on his heels.

Having shown how *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* gives proof of a prior conflict between Kumuda, *i.e.*, the king of the South-Western region and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman, and in so doing affords a cause for the formation of the confederacy of kings against Indrabhaṭṭāraka referred to in the Gōdāvarī grant; thus establishing that Supratīka must represent none other than the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka, who was not far removed in date from Mādhavavarman and who, like him, pursued a policy of aggression,—we proceed to point out one other enemy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who might have joined the confederacy. This was the king of the Eastern Region represented by the elephant Çaturdanta. The Pulōmburu grant states that Mādhavavarman set out to effect the conquest of this region (*Prāg-dig-jigīśaya-prasthitaḥ*). The Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman tells us that in hundreds of thousands of battles he gained victories over the king of the eastern quarter (*anēka-çaturdanta-samara-śata-sahaśra-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayī*). The same fact is also referred to in the Chikkulla plates of his son Vikramēndravarman in the following words, *viz.*, *anēka-çaturdanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-dvirada-gaṇa-vipula-vijayasya*. We have already noted that the claim of Mitavarman 'to have again and again obtained victories

in battle over the Çaturdanta' (*asakrid-avāpta-çaturdanta-sangrāma-vijayasya*) must be based upon that aid rendered by him in the numerous wars of his overlord the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Thus from all these we see that the kings of the eastern quarter were quite unwilling to bear the yoke of the overlordship of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and put up hard fights with them. And it is not at all unlikely that its king was one of the confederates who attempted to overthrow Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

This achievement against the Çaturdantas was decidedly an earlier achievement, and it should have, as we have noted above, happened prior to his twenty-seventh year (A.D. 602). It was only after A.D. 602 that he encountered his *dāyādas* in battle and he was victorious over them. As some time should necessarily have elapsed for these wars and as he is definitely stated to have been victorious, it is clear that his rule should have been more than twenty-seven years, say about twenty-nine or thirty years. According to our scheme of chronology for this dynasty, he should have ruled in about A.D. 575–602/5. The two other items of his achievements are that he opened *ghaṭikas* in accordance with the ancient precepts (*i.e.*, *Dharma*) and he bestowed gifts of land, cows, gold and gave girls in marriage. We are at present unable to ascertain what exactly was meant by the opening of *ghaṭikas*. Anyway it is certain that these were acts which were performed for the attainment of merits.

This glorious king Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭāraka had more than one son and only the eldest son (*priya-jyeṣṭa-putrō*) known as Vikramēndravarman II succeeded him while he was young. Though young Vikramēndravarman II was possessed with royal qualities, and having taken upon himself the burden of ruling the kingdom, was able to govern his dominion well. He was also a worshipper of the Lord of Srī Parvata. The last known regnal year of Vikramēndravarman II is only ten and since no successor of this king is reported anywhere it is almost certain that he was dethroned by Pulakēśin II. Thus it was that the dynasty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins came to a close.

That this was doubtless the case is also proved by a consideration of the following. The districts which comprised the territories of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins during the reign of the last two sovereigns, were Vizagapatam, Kṛṣṇa, Guntur and Gōdāvarī Districts and these we find from the records of Satyāśraya Pulakēśin II, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhaṇa, and his successors were held by the Cāḷukyas since the beginning of the seventh century A.D. So then it becomes certain that the territories passed over to the Cāḷukyas from the hands of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins directly.

We shall presently view the history of the Cāḷukyas and the question how they obtained the Viṣṇukuṇḍins' dominion. Pulakēśin I made himself master of Vātāpi, and his power was confined to the surrounding limits. After him Kīrtivarman, Maṅgalēśa and probably also Indravarman who was stationed in Rēvatidvīpa, ruled. After Maṅgalēśa, Pulakēśin II practically succeeded to the Western Cāḷukya dominion. The *Rājābhiṣeka* or coronation of Pulakēśin II took place somewhere in the latter part of A.D. 609.[64] From A.D. 608–11 Pulakēśin II's attention was fully engaged in "quieting the general confusion that ensued on the death of Maṅgalēśa",[65] and in A.D. 610–11 Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was a governor of four provinces and was probably Maṅgalēśa's son, who never actually ascended the throne. In the civil war between Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II, the former lost his life. After his death anarchy and confusion prevailed for some years, and during that time Pulakēśin II successfully met two invaders Appāyika and Govinda by name.[66] Then Pulakēśin had to besiege and reduce Banavāsi though it had been formally subjugated by his father Kīrtivarman I. Many others like Ganga, Ālupa, Maurya, Lāṭa, Mālwa, Gūrjara were subdued. Then an attack by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was successfully resisted. After this, Pulakēśin II was crowned, *i.e.*, in about A.D. 609–10. Then the Kōśala and Kaliṅga were humbled. The fortress of Piṣṭapura was reduced. After

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[64] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 351.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[66] *Ibid*, p. 350.

such great achievements and when the empire became larger, the eastern portions of the kingdom were left to be governed by his brother, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, in about A.D. 615. That the earlier achievements were all effected by or about A.D. 612 is established by the Hyderabad grant.[67] It was during this time that Pulakēśin II who extended his dominions, as we have noted above, in all directions, could have conquered the Trikūṭa and Malaya which were the dominions of Mādhavavarman II whose rule ended in *c.* A.D. 612. That this might well have been the truth is borne out by the facts that he ruled for a long period of nearly half a century, and that we come to know of none of his sons or successors. In fact, it must be that this line ended after his reign of forty-seven years, and his kingdom submerged into the conquered territories of Pulakēśin II Satyāśraya.

Now a word more about his eastern acquisitions. Professor Keilhorn is perfectly reasonable when he says[68] that Pulakēśin's march of conquest is "from north to the south along the east coast of Southern India", and adds that the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This, he says, shows "that 'the water of Kunala' can only be the well-known Kollēru Lake, which is south of Pitapuram between the rivers of Gōdāvarī and Kṛṣṇa. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunala' given in the poem would be applicable even at the present day ; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island, which more than once had been the object of attack." The ruins of Vēṅgi and Lendaluru lie in the vicinity of the Kollēru Lake. Hence there can remain the least doubt that the water of Kunala (*i.e.*, Kollēru Lake) was at the time of Pulakēśin II's invasion, in the possession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins[69] and the battle of Kunala was fought between

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[67] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 351.

[68] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 41 ff.

[69] Similarly all the territories that belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were included in the dominion of Pulakēśin II and this is evidenced by the facts that the localities that were under Viṣṇukuṇḍin sway

the Cāḷukya Pulakēśin II and Vikramēndravarman II, the last known Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch.

We have already noted, while dealing with the reign of Vikramēndravarman II, that the dominion of the kings who ruled after Vikramēndravarman II, passed on directly to the Eastern Cāḷukyas and that there are ample proofs for the same. We have also to note here that when the kingdom of Vikramēndravarman II was conquered and added to the dominions of the Cāḷukyas there was some unrest and confusion, as is borne out by the fact that Rudraśarman who was the *Pūrvāgrahārika* of the Pulōmburu village made some representations to the reigning king and obtained back his village. The point of interest is in the fact that Rudraśarman in Jayaśimha's time is stated to have been a resident of the town of Asanapura. As we know of his father already, he should have resided in Kunṟūṟur in Kammarāṣṭra, which was the native place of his father, or at Pulōmburu the *agrahāra* that was granted to him by Mādhavavarman I. This change in the place of residence is worth noting and is very vital. Here we must also bear in mind that the grant of the village of Pulōmburu was renewed (so-to-say) by Jayaśimha I when he was encamped at Vijayaskandavara. When we view the above facts together, we are led to think that in the first years of his rule, Jayaśimha I had been still engaged in wars. That there were constant wars and that the period was a troublous one is certain. Very possibly the sons of Indrabhaṭṭāraka[70] after Vikramēndravarman II's deposition, should have gathered some forces

occur in the grants of the Cāḷukya kings, *e.g.*, Kammarāṣṭra, the native place of the father of Rudraśarman, formed part of the territory of Pulakēśin II according to the Kopparam plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff). We know also that Plaki-rāṣṭra was often the bone of contention between the Gangas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, for they occur largely in their records of this period Varahavartini viṣaya was situated near Plaki-rāṣṭra. The Rāmatīrtham plates is the record of the grant of Peruvāḍaka in Plaki-rāṣṭra.

[70] That Indrabhaṭṭāraka had other sons besides Vikramēndravarman II who is expressly stated to have been the eldest (*priya-jyēṣṭa-putro*) has been noted above.

and made their last trials in regaining their lost Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom, in the later years of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I and the early years of Jayaśimha I. We have proved elsewhere[71] that Jayaśimha I was appointed heir apparent to the throne even three years prior to his father's demise and this we find is in conformity with our conclusions noted above. It is most probable that Jayaśimha had been steadily helping his father Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana in his wars.

(*To be continued*)

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[71] *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 33.

ADVAITA VEDĀNTA

By P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 2, page* 219)

VII

The two realms set out by Advaita, namely the phenomenal and the noumenal, must somehow be shown to constitute an integral unity. Without such a synoptic view it would be unintelligible to maintain that the world is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. Traditional writers on Advaita metaphysics seem to hold the view that the final intuition annuls the whole world of reality. They say that the world of plurality is sublated by Brahman intuition. The sublation is something like the sublation of the dream experience by the waking life. Such an interpretation establishes no continuity between the phenomenal and the noumenal. Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri in his Presidential Address to the Philosophy and Religion Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1937, suggested that sublation should be interpreted as sublimation and transcendence and not as annulment. If we stick to the doctrine of annulment, we will not be able to account for the continuity between the phenomenal and the noumenal reality. From the empirical to the real, from the appearance to the Absolute, a passage is either possible or is not, if not, the Absolutist Philosophy is an irrelevant nightmare. The existing objects of the world of plurality cannot commit suicide and go into nothing. These difficulties are avoided by adopting this suggestion. The objects of the world of plurality and the subject who knows them on the empirical plane are transformed and sublimated by the Brahman intuition. This suggestion points out a continuity between the phenomenal and the noumenal. So "sublation is sublimation" and not annulment.

VIII

An extreme view of Advaita is that there is only one nescience and that nescience reflects Brahman, and as soon as that reflected soul attains release there is destruction of the nescience. On this view there exists only one *jīva*. The presence of other *jīvas*, bound as well as released, is compared to the dreams of that single *jīva*.

Such a radical solipsist position is not acceptable to the majority of the Advaitins. Besides, scripture declares that there are released as well as bound souls. So a plurality of nescience is posited. It is the difference between the various nesciences that accounts for the variety of individuals. The experience that we are finite selves is known to us only through the conflict and the contrast with other selves. The conflict presupposes a plurality of empirical selves. Śankara in his commentary while speaking about the reciprocal super-imposition of the self and the not-self, significantly refers to the not-self as 'thou' and not as 'it' or 'that'. Such a significant usage helps us to infer that Śankara was in favour of a plurality of nescience.[13] The school that holds that there is only one *jīva* is of opinion that Brahman is the locus as well as the content of the nescience. Nescience cannot be located in an inert entity. It must have a content as well as a locus. This school of Advaita goes by the name of *Ekajīvavāda*.

The majority of Advaitins posit a plurality of nescience. The content of nescience is Brahman and its locus is the *jīva*. It may be objected that *jīva* cannot come into existence without the functioning of nescience and nescience cannot therefore be located in its own product without its substrate the *jīva*. Thus there is the charge of reciprocal dependence levelled against the Advaitin. The Advaitin finds a way out of this muddle by positing the beginningless nature of the inter-action of nescience and *jīva*-hood. He says that there was no time when there was no *jīva* or nescience. If it be still urged

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[13] S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Introduction, p 31, *The Bhāmati Catussūtri*.

that such a relation of dependence between nescience and *jīva* is unintelligible, the resolute Advaitin admits the charge. It is the very nature of nescience to be ultimately unintelligible. Why expect intelligibility in the case of nescience when it is proclaimed to be indeterminable? Though nescience is located in the *jīva* it does not belong to *jīva*; its content is Īśvara. Ignorance or nescience may be located in me and still I may not be its controller. The empirical usage that ignorance belongs to me is figurative. The conditioned absolute, *i.e.*, Īśvara, is the controller (the arch-juggler of nescience). He creates the whole universe with nescience as its material cause. The individual soul does not create the universe. Nescience is thus established to be bi-polar. The reflection theory holds the view that Brahman reflected in *Māyā* is Īśvara. Īśvara is a reflection in *Māyā*. The *jīvas* on this view are reflections of Brahman in *Avidyā*. The difference between the two reflecting media is, that one is predominantly pure *sattva*, and another impure *sattva*. *Māyā* is predominantly pure *sattva* and *Avidya* is impure *sattva*. This view reduces Īśvara also to a reflection and he proves to be as helpless as the *jīva*.

There is another view which establishes an organic relation between *jīva* and Īśvara. The nesicence has for its content Īśvara and its locus is *jīva*. When the individual soul's nescience is removed, he becomes one with Īśvara and not Brahman. It is only when all the souls transcend their respective nesicences there is the realisation of Brahman; at that stage Īśvara automatically ceases to exist. This view holds that Īśvara is reflected in the various nesciences. The *jīvas* are the reflections of Īśvara. If it be contended that nescience has no quality or visible form and that reflection for it is impossible the Advaitin explains it with the help of an analogy. Just as ether which is infinite and all-pervasive is confined in objects like the pot, likewise the *jīva* is the delimited form of Brahman. This is called the *Avaccheda* view. This view helps us to establish an intelligible connection between the *jīvas* and Īśvara and also accords with the declaration

of scripture relating to the existence of the released and unreleased souls.[14]

IX

The central import of Advaita is the identity of the individual soul and Brahman. The category of difference is refuted in detail.[15] Advaita repudiates the apparent scientific view. Common sense and normal sense perception give us a world of separate individual existents. The so-called individual separate existents are neither separate nor independent. The separate individual existent is the result of a network of forces such as mental and material. Their individuality is only an abstraction from reality. The things we ordinarily call objects or individuals like man, a table, a tree, are not concrete realities as the romantic anti-rationalist or the superficial realist would have us believe. They are abstractions from a reality which has a reality all its own.[16] There is a comprehensive ignorance of which we partake and it is this ignorance that is responsible for our view that we are separate individuals. The scientific view is a partial view. It has abstracted a portion of reality which is mathematically determinable. The scientist's picture of the universe proves to be a private universe whose qualities can be weighed, measured and numbered. The other aspects of reality which do not submit to mathematical treatment are left out as meaningless. The scientist does not possess intellectual instruments to deal with those aspects of reality. Hence he mistakes the partial reality abstracted from the true as the real.

Maṇḍana, the great Advaita thinker, with unsurpassed logical acumen, has discussed the dialectic of difference. The Advaitin has pressed to his service all the *pramāṇas* to yield the central doctrine of Advaita, the identity of Brahman and the individual self.

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[14] S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Introduction to the *Siddhāntaleśa Saṅgraha*, pp. 39–42.

[15] Prof. S. S. S. Sastri, Introduction, *Translation of Bhāmati*.

[16] Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means*, pp. 254–57.

Scripture is the central *pramāṇa* for Advaita in the establishment of the identity of the individual self and the Brahman. Maṇḍana points out that scripture declares the identity in unequivocal terms. Scripture no doubt has to be interpreted according to the determinative marks of purport. The famous *Chāndogya Śruti* points out and identifies the reality of Brahman with the self, *that thou art*. This teaching is repeated ninefold to show that it is important and that it is its primary purport. This identity with Brahman is not known through ordinary experience as the heat of the fire or the price of bread. Thus there is novelty and it is made known by the scriptures. So the scriptural declaration is not a mere re-statement. It is fruitful also because the knowledge of identity helps us to pass beyond the travail of transmigration. The knowledge of this identity is praised and its opposite deprecated. It also stands to reason. The rigorous application of the determinative marks of purport points out that the central truth of the *Śrutis* is identity.

There are several passages in the Upaniṣads which point out difference as the central purport of the *Śruti*. They refer to a radical difference between Brahman and the individual. The Advaitin explains these passages as elaborating the phenomenal view-point to be refuted later. The *bhēdaśrutis* (scriptures that have difference for their purport) are refuted by the ultimately real identity-*Śrutis*.

The great Maṇḍana also says that perception is not opposed to the Advaita doctrine. Apparently perception gives us a world of plurality. It is the first and the primary instrument of knowledge. From this it does not follow that perception is an unsuitable *pramāṇa*. It may be the first instrument of knowledge but by no means is it basic. There are cases where the cognition derived through a subsequent *pramāṇa* arises only by sublating the cognition derived from the prior *pramāṇa*. Scriptural knowledge arises by sublating the cognition derived through perception. Hence the knowledge derived through perception is sublated by Scripture.

Maṇḍana points out that perception does not cognise difference. The summary of his argument is as follows: Difference is a relation. It needs two relata for its existence. Is difference the nature of the things? Or is it an attribute of them? If it were the nature of the things, there would be no things to be different. If any one were to point out a single entity, that will break itself into a number of things, because difference is of its nature. Thus the process goes on endlessly and it would not even rest with the primal atom. So difference cannot be the nature of things.

Nor can difference be the attribute of the relata. If difference is to be the attribute of the things then is the attribute different from its substrate? Or is it of its very nature? If the attribute is different from the substrate we have three units (1) the substrate, (2) the difference which is its attribute, and (3) the difference of the attribute from the substrate. Once we start the enquiry into the relation of this difference to the substrate on the one hand and the attribute on the other we are condemned to infinite regress. Thus the category of difference turns out to be ultimately unintelligible. At best it can give us appearance and not truth. To use the words of Bradley it is "a make-shift, it is a device, a mere practical compromise most necessary but in the end most indefensible".[17]

The Advaitin does not rest satisfied with the refutation of the category of difference. Those who reject difference take to the fatally fascinating doctrine of the concrete universal. The Advaitin refutes this in detail. The Absolute of the Advaita transcends the concrete universal. In our common experience we find identity and difference juxtaposed. The mere fact of their apparent synthesis does not warrant their ultimate reality. The existent is not always the real. The categories accepted by finite cognition are by no means critical. To see that identity and difference co-exist is not to take them to be real. "A crown and bracelet, it is said, are different and yet not different, different as products, but not different in

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[17] Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 33.

respect of their material cause, *i.e.*, gold. But if they are really non-different, he who wants a crown must be satisfied with a bracelet. If we maintain that there is difference between a crown and a bracelet, then there must be difference between the bracelet and gold also, because crown and gold are non-different. Because of the difference between the crown and bracelet he who wants the first does not want the second. Why should it not be that he wants it too because of this non-difference." Such in bare outline is the critique of identity in difference. Identity in difference turns out only to be a device resulting in self-deception through insufficient analysis.[18]

The path to reach the Absolute can be represented in the form of a dialectical formula. *Adhyāropāvādābhyam niṣpra-pañcam prapañcyate.* It is a dialectical process whereby the distinctionlessness of indeterminate cognition passes over into the cognition of difference and then transcends itself in the distinctionless intuition that is Brahman. There is first the super-imposition of plurality on Brahman and then it is sublated. Super-imposition and sublation are the two acts that lead the Advaitin to *Mōkṣa.* The non-dualist cannot afford to despise the world and ignore it. "To ignore the world is not identical with being ignorant of it."[19] There is no short-cut to realisation excepting through the super-imposition and the withdrawal thereof. The spirit must go forth and come back with enriched experience. It must know the perils and pass through the "vale of tears" and must learn "the art of soul-making". The Advaitin's progress to *Mōkṣa* is through super-imposition and sublation.

(To be continued)

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[18] S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *Introduction to Bhāmati*, pp. 19-21.

[19] S. S. S. Sastri, *Advaita and the Concept of Progress*, pp. 18–19

PRIVATE LIFE OF THE PESHWAS

By V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A.

(*Mysore*)

The History of the Marāthās is but the history of India since the whole of India came under their purview and field of action. The seed of Swaraj as sown by Śivāji was fully harvested by the great Peshwas. As observed by Sardesai, they never forgot the great ideals of the founder of the Marāthā Empire and kept up his ideas even as late as 1795, though without his genius for uniting all the people of Mahārāṣtra.

Some glimpses into the personality of the gifted Chit Pāvan Brahmin rulers is not without interest, since history is after all the story of its greatest leaders. Like the Mughuls, whom they succeeded, the descendants of Bālāji Viśwanāth were a race of men who carried with them the hall-mark of genius. Their conquering valour, organising genius, devotion to their country and religion marked them out as champions of the Hindus, and earned for them a permanent place in the annals of Indian History.

Though placed in the midst of thousand temptations and onerous tasks, they never for a moment forgot to keep up their Brahminical duties. Even at the time of their last, desperate attack, on the field of Pāṇipat the uncle and cousin performed their poojas, took the sacred *thirtam* and ordered the call to arms. It is a well-known fact that the Empire of the Marāthās was born of their attempt to preserve their own social and religious institutions. The conquests of Śivāji, Bāji Rao's capture of Bassein, were all inspired by the appeals of the Hindus to save them, body and soul, from the onslaughts of irreverent hands. Hence there was no lapse on the part of the Peshwas in keeping up their old religious duties as becoming a family of Bhattas.

The *Peshwas Dafters* throw a flood of light on the domestic life of these Peshwas. The Brahmin Peshwas observed the *Upanayana* (thread ceremony) of their junior princes with

meticulous care, and feeding of Brahmins was undertaken, on a most elaborate scale, on every possible occasion; and indeed the poor Brahmin donees must have felt to be living in a golden age of their own. Of all the festivals of the year, the Gaṇeśa worship was celebrated in royal grandeur. Several papers testify to the great care and interest evinced by the ruling family, in the celebration of the Gaṇeśa Caturti.

While the Peshwas were in the maelstrom of politics and war, the ladies of their household were free to undertake long tours and pilgrimages as pleasant duties. When we turn over the pages of the *Dafters*, it looks as though the ladies had but one task in life, that of visiting the holy places and earning the merit of pious Hindu ladies. But travelling was attended with great risks in those war-like times. In spite of the solitary instance of special honour shown to a mother of the Peshwa, by the Emperor of the North, the usual tenor of the letters of the Peshwa's womenfolk reveal harassment and sufferings from the hands of the local Muslim Governors at Muthra and Benares. The protection of the Hindu pilgrims and re-conquest of their sacred places like Pāṇipat, Muthra, Gaya and Benares had not a little to do in inspiring the Peshwas for superhuman valour and industry, in achieving the liberation of their holy places.

Both men and women of the Peshwas' family were persons who never forgot their love of books and reading of literature. During the turmoil of war, MSS. of books were objects of great possession and were systematically acquired and sent on to the headquarters, Poona. Raghūba found himself unable to continue his war-like career, without the companionship of sacred books like *Bhārat* and *Bhāgavat* and ordered that they be despatched to him immediately. Amanuensis were employed permanently and copying of sacred books was a regular part of the duties of the Peshwas' officials. Even Marāthā Sardars were not neglectful of the inspiring value of the great epics of India. The ladies of the Peshwas' household were not less ardent devotees of the Muses. Though the name of not a single poetess has come down to us, the ladies

were generally well educated and their libraries bear witness to the great depth and width of learning of a woman of that period. Their libraries were periodically inspected and taken great care of. A list of books in the library of Saguṇābai shows names of books like *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yogavāsiṣta*, *Pañcadasi*, *Bhāgavatha* and *Bhagavat Gīta*, proof enough of the lady's culture. Other instances of feminine learning can be easily made out from the records of their Government.

The education of Mādhava Rao I is typical of the great care bestowed on the proper upbringing of the heir-apparent to the Peshwaship. Books were specially composed to initiate him into the baffling mysteries of administration. *Nārāyaṇa Vyavahāra Sīkṣa*, written by one Nārāyan, taught the prince the principles of acquisition, maintenance and destruction of wealth. The deeds of glory and achievement of his ancestors were impressed on him by a *Bakhar* of the Peshwas written for the edification of the prince. Rajawade observes that the history was a quite trustworthy one, though meagre in details. Nothing was found lacking in giving the young Peshwa sound training for his future responsibilities.

Though primarily a literary class, military exercises were not neglected, since, fighting for protection was their foremost duty. Besides the three R's, regular practice in reading *moḍi* documents, horse-riding, shooting, wrestling, sword and lance exercises formed the regular course of studies, undertaken by the junior members of the Peshwas. Their love of horses was almost a passion with everyone of them. Prince Nārāyaṇa Rao asks for more sticks, since they are frequently broken by constant lance exercises. His education was carefully supervised by the Peshwa who found time to inspect even the copy-books of his son Nārāyaṇa Rao.

Following the example of the Mughul and Vijayanagara Emperors, the Peshwas also maintained the custom of weighing themselves against gold and silver and distributing thereafter in charity the precious metals with which they were weighed. A letter written to Nānā Fadnis, refers to the Peshwa Mādhava Rao's intention of weighing himself with gold and silver on the

banks of the river Thungabhadrā. Here it was meant to ward off an evil, since the weighing ceremony was fixed on the day of the solar eclipse. Again, Ānandibai desires to weigh herself against silver, on account of a solar eclipse, falling on her rāsi.

Though the Peshwas employed against their enemies earthly weapons of human valour and cold steel, they resorted to divine or superhuman aids for discomfiting their enemies. On several occasions, the Peshwas resorted to Vedic hymns like मन्युसूक्त (Manyusūkta) and पंचदासि (Pancadasi) to defeat their enemy. During his Carnatic campaigns, the Peshwa desired the Brahmins to invoke divine aid for success in his *digvijaya*. मृत्युंजय (Mṛtyunjaya) and other *Japams* were repeated to ward off death and disease. On another occasion Tārābai presented Mādhava Rao with threads of gold and silver as protection (*Rakṣi*) against evil-stars. Nārāyaṇa Rao requests Nānā Fadnis to order special worship in temples on account of an apprehended evil star.

Belief in black magic was a common belief in the India of those days, and complaints were made to the Peshwa that a certain trader demolished houses of his neighbours by means of the evil spirit. But the Peshwas merely ordered that careful enquiries should be made regarding the allegations before any action was taken.

Combining in themselves both the functions, religious and secular, it was easy for them to undertake social legislation. Their social and religious legislation was characterised by great liberalism and a spirit of adjustment to the all-powerful time-spirit. Their papers are replete with instances of *suddhi* or purification of Brahmin women, polluted by the assaults of other contigomists. In this they received unstinted support from that stronghold of orthodoxy, the Paithan Brahmins, and merely followed the greater tradition of the great Mother of Śivāji. Gopikabai suggests to the authorities, the necessity of prohibiting by legislation the custom of selling away girls in marriages, and incidentally refers to the orders of Sadāśiva Rao against drink in the

Marāthā army and the great success achieved in carrying out the anti-drink campaign as an inspiring example to others.

At the same time, a fact to be remembered and deserving of frequent iteration is that in their administration the Peshwas were free from communal bias and chose officers from all communities—the Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians. Among their Hindu Officers more than seventy-five per cent. were drawn from non-Brahmin Marāthā castes, and the Peshwas had no greater loyal servant than the Patel Bava (Sindhia).

Though rigorously orthodox, they were not puritanical in their tastes and habits, perhaps with the solitary exception of Mādhava Rao. Beautiful, well-laid out gardens, sweet-scented roses and divine-voiced songsters were well appreciated. Painters were employed to cover their halls and palaces with pictures and episodes from the epics and purāṇas, and the Peshwa had to choose among a bundle of paintings sent for their approval. Their palaces were placed in the midst of choice flower-trees and creepers for their proper setting. Raghunāth Rao was a contrast to his puritanical nephew. In the distant Panjab he would not forget his haunting flower gardens and orders for their proper upkeep. He imports songsters and dancing girls from Delhi whereas Mādhava Rao had a horror of gaudiness in dress and luxurious habits. Love of animals and birds formed a dominating passion with Sāhu and the Peshwas. Fine riding horses were not merely prized by them but they made a scientific study of the horses and classified them as राजहंस (Rājahaṃsa), सुग्रीव (Sugrīva), चंदन (Candana) and etc. A single fine mare costed Rs. 1,750. Five hundred cows of choice breed were ordered for by the Peshwa. On an occasion they presented Sāhu with twenty-four dogs of good breed. Pigeons of all varieties, ducks and falcons were also in great demand by them and reared by them with great affection.

A word about the vexed question of the relation between the Peshwas and the grandson of Śivāji. The opinion that the Peshwas were usurpers of power from the well meaning but

imbecile king Sāhu who had ultimately to share the fate of a glorified prisoner in the hands of his major domos cannot bear the scrutiny of history. But for the rare loyalty and genius of the first Peshwa, the son of Sāmbāji would have received short shrift from the hands of his step-mother Tārābai. Bāji Rao I did not immediately succeed to his father's position. It was by his intrepid genius he gained the Peshwa's robes of honour, from the admiring hands of Sāhu Catrapati. He was the one man who realised the full force of Śivāji's "Swaraj" and carried the *Bhagwa Jhanda* to the walls of Attock, if not to the gates of 'Kinnerakhanda'. Not often did Sāhu complain that his great ministers, Bāji Rao and Chimnāji Appa, kept him ignorant of his movements. Yet he was carried away by the youthful genius of Bāji Rao whose victories were applauded and whose faults were promptly censured by the king. Sāhu knew fully well that Bāji Rao Ballāl was the one man who was worthy of his trust and so ordered all his sirdars to offer his Pant Pradhan implicit obedience.

Even in their outlook the Peshwas differed on fundamental grounds. Bāji Rao had his eyes on the north, because Delhi was beckoning him to repeat the glories of the Yudiṣtra and Prithvirāj. But Sāhu knew that the Northern provinces had all been impoverished by continual warfare and gave it as his considered opinion that Southern India offered better gains than the North.

As long as possible, Sāhu kept a healthy control over the affairs of the Peshwa, and in his old age, he had to relax his control over his dominating ministers whose power increased as a result. Sāhu was childless and was followed by an imbecile who could not command the loyalty or valour of the hosts of Marāthā sirdars, as the towering personality of the Peshwas alone could do it.

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 2, page 239*)

Chapter XXII

The Conclusion

1–4. After Śrī Dattātreya had finished, Paraśurāma asked again respectfully: "Lord, what further did that Brahmin ask Hēmāngada and how did the latter enlighten him? The account is very interesting and I desire to hear it in full." Then Śrī Datta, the Lord of Mercy, continued the story: "Vasuman asked Hēmāngada as follows:—

5–8. "Prince! I shall ask you a question. Please answer me. I learnt about the Supreme Truth from Aṣṭaka and later from you. You are a sage; but still, how is it that you go out hunting? How can a sage be engaged in work? Work implies duality; wisdom is non-duality; the two are thus opposed to each other. Please clear this doubt of mine."

Thus requested, Hēmāngada told the Brahmin as follows:—

9–14. "O Brahmin! Your confusion owing to ignorance has not yet been cleared up. Wisdom is eternal and natural. How can it be contradicted by work? Should work make wisdom ineffective, how can wisdom be useful any more than a dream? No eternal good is possible in that case. All this work is dependent on Self-awareness (*i.e.*, wisdom). Being so, can work destroy wisdom and yet remain in its absence? Wisdom is that consciousness in which this world with all its phenomena and activities is known to be as an image or series of images; duality essential for work is also a phenomenon in that non-dual awareness.

"There is no doubt that a man realises the Self only after purging himself of all thoughts, and that he is then released from bondage, once for all. Your question has thus no basis and cannot be expected of the wise."

Then the Brahmin continued further:

15–16. "True, O Prince! I have also concluded that the Self is pure, unblemished Intelligence. But how can it remain unblemished when *will* arises in it. *Will* is modification of the Self, giving rise to confusion similar to that of a snake in a coil of rope."

17–26. "Listen, O Brahmin! You do not yet clearly distinguish confusion from clearness. The sky appears blue to all alike whether they know that space is colourless or not. Even the one who knows speaks of the 'blue sky' but is not himself confused. The ignorant man is confused whereas the man who knows is not. The latter's seeming confusion is harmless like a snake that is dead. His work is like images in a mirror. There lies the difference between a sage and an ignorant man. The former has accurate knowledge and unerring judgment, whereas the latter has a blurred conception and his judgment is warped. Knowledge of Truth never forsakes a sage although he is immersed in work. All his activities are like reflections in a mirror for, being self-realised, ignorance can no longer touch him.

"Wrong knowledge due to sheer ignorance can be corrected by true knowledge; but wrong knowledge due to fault cannot be so easily corrected. So long as there is myopia, the eyesight will be blurred and many images of a single object will be seen. Similarly, so long as there is the *prārabdha* (residual past *karma*) unaccounted for, the manifestation of the world will continue for the *Jñāni*, though only as a phenomenon. This will also vanish as soon as the *prārabdha* has played itself out and then pure, unblemished Intelligence alone will remain. Therefore I tell you, there is no blemish attached to a *Jñāni* though he appears active and engaged in worldly duties."

Having heard this, the Brahmin continued to ask:

27. "O Prince! How can there be any residue of past *karma* in a *Jñāni*? Does not *Jñāna* burn away all *karma* as fire does a heap of camphor?"

28–29. Then Hēmāngada replied: "Listen, Brahmin! The three kinds of *karma* (1) mature (*prārabhda*), (2) pending (*agāmi*), and (3) in store (*sançita*) are common to all—not

excluding the *Jñāni*. The first of these alone remains for the *Jñāni* and the other two are burnt away.

30. "*Karma* matures by the agency of time; such is the divine law. When mature, it is bound to yield its fruits.

31. "The *karma* of the one who is active after Self-realisation, is rendered ineffective by his wisdom.

32. "*Karma* already mature and now yielding results is called *prārabdha*: it is like an arrow already shot from a bow which must run its course until its momentum is lost."

Note.—Prārabdha must bear fruits and cannot be checked by realisation of the Self. But there is no enjoyment of its fruits by the realised sage.

33–35. "Environments are only a result of *prārabdha*: notwithstanding they seem the same for all, *Jñānis* react to them differently according to their own stages of realisation.

"Pleasure and pain are apparent to the least among the sages, but do not leave any mark on them as they do on the ignorant; pleasure and pain operate on the middle class of sages in the same way, however, they react only indistinctly to their surroundings, as a man in sleep does to a gentle breeze or to an insect creeping over him; pleasure and pain are again apparent to the highest among the sages, who however look upon them as unreal like a hare growing horns.

36. "The ignorant anticipate pleasure and pain before enjoyment, recapitulate them after enjoyment, and reflect over them, so that they leave a strong impression on their minds.

37. "*Jñānis* of the lowest order also enjoy pleasure and pain like the ignorant, but their remembrance of such experiences is frequently broken up by intervals of realisation. Thus the worldly enjoyments do not leave an impression on their minds.

38. "*Jñānis* of the middle class, accustomed to control their minds by long-continued austerities, keep their minds in check even while enjoying pleasure and pain, and thus their response to the world is as indistinct as that of a man in sleep to a gentle breeze playing on him or an ant creeping over his body.

39–41. "*Jñānis* of the highest order are left untouched for they always remain as the burnt skeleton of a cloth (retaining its old shape but useless) after their realisation. Just as an actor is not really affected by the passions which he displays on the stage, so also this *Jñāni*, always aware of his perfection, is not affected by the seeming pleasures and pains which he regards as a mere illusion like the horns of a hare.

42. "The ignorant are not aware of the pure Self; they see it always blemished and hence they believe in the reality of objective knowledge and are therefore affected by the pleasures and pains of life.

43–49. "As for the lowest order of *Jñānis*, these realise the Self off and on, and spells of ignorance overtake them whenever overcome by their predispositions, they look upon the body as the SELF and the world as real. They are often able to over-ride the old tendencies, and thus there is a struggle between wisdom and ignorance—each of them prevailing alternatively. The *Jñāni* ranges himself on the side of wisdom and fights against ignorance until falsity is thoroughly blown out, and truth prevails. Therefore *Jñāna* is indivisible.

50–57. "Forgetfulness of the Self never overtakes a middle class *Jñāni* and wrong knowledge never possesses him. However he of his own accord brings out some predispositions from his own depths in order to maintain his body according to *prārabdha*. This is the conduct of an accomplished *Jñāni*.

"As for the aspirant, there is no forgetfulness of the Self so long as he is engaged in practising *samādhi*. But the accomplished *Jñāni* is always unforgetful of the Self and picks out his own predispositions according to his own choice.

"The highest *Jñāni* makes no difference between *samādhi* and worldly transactions. He never finds anything apart from the Self and so there is no lapse for him.

"The middle order *Jñāni* is fond of *samādhi* and voluntarily abides in it. There is accordingly a lapse, however slight, when he is engaged in worldly affairs, or even in the maintenance of his body.

" On the other hand, the *Jñāni* of the highest order involuntarily and naturally abides in *samādhi* and any lapse is impossible for him under any circumstances.

" But the *Jñāni* of the middle order or of the highest order has no tinge of *karma* left in him because he is in perfection and does not perceive anything apart from the Self.

" How can there be anything of *karma* left when the wild fire of *Jñāna* is raging, consuming all in its way ?

Commentary.—*Karma* is inferred by the onlooker according to his own ideas of pleasure- or pain-giving experiences for the *Jñāni*, hence the previous statement that *prārabdha* remains over without being destroyed by *Jñāna*. That holds true for the lowest order of *Jñānis* and not to the rest. The fruit is that which is enjoyed ; *Jñānis* of the highest order do not partake of pleasure or pain. For they are in *samādhi* and *that* does not admit of such enjoyments ; when arisen from *samādhi* the objects (*i.e.*, non-self) are known to be like images in a mirror, and the conscious principle of the seer and sight is equally known to be the Self. Just as the images are not apart from the mirror, so there is no non-Self apart from the Self ; therefore pleasure and pain are not alien to the Self. That which is not alien need not be traced to another cause namely *karma* (*prārabdha*). The ideas of pleasure and pain in others need not be foisted on to *Jñānis* and explanations sought —with the result of positing *prārabdha* in them. The *Jñāni* never says ' I am happy ' ; I am miserable ' ; then why should *prārabdha* be imagined in his case ? The least among *Jñānis* is apt to relax from the realisation of the Self and then he gets mixed up with the world at intervals when he appropriates pleasure or pain. The conjecture of *prārabdha* is significant in his case but not in the case of other orders of *Jñānis*.

The lowest state of *Jñāna* is open to the doubt whether such *Jñāna* as is obstructed off and on, betokens emanicipation. Some agree that it does not. But realisation of the Self occurs simultaneously with the raising of the veil of ignorance. This veil is destroyed whereas the outgoing tendency *vikṣepa* drags on a little longer. *Prārabdha* runs out after

yielding its results. No residue is left for re-incarnation; nor are there the other stocks of *karma* to draw upon for perpetuating bewilderment. His mind perishes with the body as fire dies out for want of fuel. In the absence of a body the Realisation of the Self must assert itself and emancipate the being.

There is still another class of men whose *Jñāna* is contradicted by worldly pursuits. That is not *Jñāna* in the true sense: it is only a semblance of it.

Difference among the different orders—*Jñāni*—simple and *Jñānis*—*Jīvanmuktas*—is perceptible to onlookers in this life. The *Jñānis* do not reincarnate.

Since they are found to be active sometimes or at all times, the onlooker requires an explanation and conjectures the residue of *prārabdha* as is the case with ordinary men. Otherwise their apparent pleasures and pains would be as if accidental, which is not acceptable to the philosopher. So, all this discussion about *prārabdha* to *Jñānis*.

Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā no doubt says "One is reborn in environments consistent with the thought uppermost in one's mind while dying." The statement applies to others and not to *Jñānis*. As for *Jñānis*, the following are said in other scriptures.

1. *Jñāni* has the root of misery cut off at the instant of realising the Self. It is immaterial for him if he dies in a holy spot, or in foul surroundings, remaining aware, or overtaken by *coma*, just before death. He is emanicpated all the same.

2. Unmistakably realising Śiva even once by a Master's advice, by scriptural statements or by inference, there could no longer remain any tinge of obligatory duty on his part because he is emancipated.

58. "Such *karma* is only a trick believed to be true by the onlooker. I shall explain this point further.

59–62. "The state of the *Jñāni* is said to be identical with that of Śiva. There is not the least difference between them. Therefore *karma* cannot besmear a *Jñāni*."

"Vasuman had all his doubts cleared by this discourse of Hēmāngada. He had a clear understanding of true realisation. Vasuman and the prince saluted each other and returned to their respective places."

Having heard all this, Paraśurāma asked Śrī Datta still further:

63–65. "Master! I have heard your holy words regarding Realisation and Wisdom. My doubts are now cleared. I now understand the non-dual state of abstract consciousness pervading all and abiding as the Self. Nevertheless, kindly tell me the essence of the whole discourse in a few words so that I may always remember them."

66–68. Thus requested, Śrī Datta again resumed:

"That which abides as the Self is Pure Intelligence Transcendental being comprised of the aggregate of all the egos in perfection. She is Self-contained, and fills the role of *Māyā* by virtue of Her own prowess. Being one without a second, She makes even the impossible happen and thus displays the Universe as a series of images in a mirror. I shall now tell you how.

Commentary: *Perfect ego*: *Ego in Perfection*: *'I–I' consciousness.*—Some distinctive characteristics have to be admitted in order to distinguish consciousness from inertia. Consciousness amounts to a flash of pure intelligence. It is of two kinds: (1) The subject and (2) the object. The latter of these is dependent on the former for its very existence; therefore the manifestation as 'I' is alone admissible. 'I' is imperfect when it is limited to the body or other similar entities, because time and space have their being in pure intelligence, or awareness as 'I–I', which is thus perfect. Nothing can possibly surpass it and yet it is all these; therefore it is the aggregate of all the egos. Nevertheless, consciousness is distinguished from inertia for the sake of preliminary instruction, so that the disciple may become conversant with the real nature of the Self. She is transcendental and also non-dual.

The self is the subject, and non-self is the object. She is also the individual egos falsely identified with bodies. She

is Ego in perfection, while abiding as pure Consciousness. This is the nature of Abstract Intelligence.

This unbroken 'I–I' consciousness remains before creation as *will*, self-sufficient and independent in nature and is also called *Svatantra*. She turns into action (*kriya*) during creation and is called *Māyā*.

Creation is not vibration or metamorphosis; it is a mere projection of images like those in a mirror. Because *Śakti* cannot be reached by time and much less broken up by it, she is eternal; so it follows that the universe has no origin.

69–71. "She who is transcendence, awareness perfection and total-summation of all egos, of Her own Will divides Herself into two. Imperfection is concomitant with such scission; there is bound to be a sentient phase which represents the aforesaid *exterior* or *unmanifested void*. The sentient phase is *Sadāśiva Tatva*."

Note.—This is called Īśvara in the *Upaniṣads*.

72. "*Now Sadāśiva* also not being perfect, sees the unmanifest void (*i.e.*, the sentient phase becomes aware of the insentient phase) but yet knows it to be of Himself—feeling 'I am this also'."

Note.—The sentient phase is called *Īśvara*; and the insentient phase is called *Māyā* or *Avidyā*, in the *Upaniṣads*.

73–90. "Later *Sadāśiva* identifies the insentient phase with His body at the time of starting Creation. Then he goes by the name *Īśvara*. Now this contaminated Higher Ego, namely *Īśvara*, divides Himself into the three aspects—*Rudra*, *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (representing the modes of Ego associated with the three qualities darkness, brightness and activity) who in their turn manifest the cosmos consisting of many worlds. *Brahmas* are innumerable, all of whom are engaged in creating worlds; *Viṣṇus* are equally taken up in protecting the worlds; and the *Rudras* in destroying them. This is the way of creation. But all of them are only images in the grand mirror of Abstract Consciousness.

"These are only manifest, but are not concrete, since they have never been created.

"The Supreme Being is always the sum-total of all the egos. Just as you fill the body and identify yourself with different senses and organs without deviating from the Ego, so does the transcendental Pure Intelligence similarly identify itself with all beginning from Sadāśiva and ending with the minutest protoplasm, and yet remains single.

"Again, just as you cannot taste anything without the aid of the tongue, nor apprehend other things without the aid of other senses or organs, so also the Supreme Being (*Sadāśiva*) acts and knows through the agency of *Brahma*, etc., and even of worms. Just as your conscious Self remains pure and unqualified although it forms the basis of all the activities of limbs, organs and senses, so also the Supreme Intelligence is unaffected though holding all the Egos within Herself. She is not aware of any distinctions in the vastness of the cosmos nor does She make difference among the Egos.

"In this manner, the Cosmos shines in Her like images in a mirror. The shining of the Cosmos is due to Her reflection. In the same way, the individuals in the world, namely you, I, and other seers are all flashes of Her consciousness. Since all are only phases of Supreme Intelligence, that alone will shine in purity bereft of taints or impediments in the shape of objects.

"Just as the shining mirror is clear when images no longer appear in it, and the same mirror remains untainted even when the images are reflected in it, so also Pure Intelligence subsists pure and untainted whether the world is seen or not.

91–92. "This untainted Supreme Intelligence is one without a second and filled with Bliss, because totally free from the least trace of unhappiness. The sum-total of all happiness of all the living beings has taken shape as the Supreme One because She is obviously desired by all; and she is no other than the Self, which consists of pure Bliss, because the Self is the most beloved of every being.

93. "For the sake of the Self people discipline their bodies and subdue their desires; all sensual pleasures are mere sparks of Bliss inherent in the Self.

Note.—Spiritual men are known to lead abstemious lives, to deny ordinary comforts to their bodies and even to torture them, in order that they may secure a happy existence after death. Their actions clearly prove their love of the Self surviving the body, this life, etc. Their hope of future bliss further establishes the unique beatific nature of the Self, surpassing sensual pleasures which might be indulged in here and now.

94. "For, sensual pleasures are similar to a sense of relief felt on unburdening oneself of a crushing load, or to the peace of sleep. Pure Intelligence is indeed Bliss because it is the only one sought for."

Commentary.—Bliss is Self. Objects are thoughts taking concrete forms; thoughts arise from the thinker; the thinker connotes intelligence. If the thinker be purged of even the least trace of thought, individuality is lost and abstract intelligence alone is left. Nothing else is admissible in the circumstances.

Since it is ultimate reality synonymous with emancipation or immortality, there must be beatitutde in it in order that it may be sought. That in fact is compact with Bliss, yea, dense Bliss alone.

How? Because, the contrary (*i.e.*, unhappiness) is associated with the exterior; it appears and disappears. Such cannot be the case if unhappiness formed part of the Self. Pleasure might similarly be said to be associated with the body, the senses, possessions, etc. However, a little thought will convince one that these so-called enjoyments are meant for the Self. So the Self is that which matters, and nothing else. But every little being always seeks pleasure. Thus pleasure is the Self.

But sensual pleasure is quite obvious, whereas the Bliss of Self is purely imaginary, because it is not similarly experienced. The Scripture must be cited against this contention. The Scriptures say that all the sensual pleasures do not together amount to a particle of the inherent bliss of Self. Just as unlimited space, or just as consciousness is unknown when pure, but becomes manifest in its associated state as objects

around, *e.g.*, a pot for fetching water—so also Bliss in purity is not enjoyable, but the same becomes enjoyable when broken up as sensual pleasures. This is the truth of the Scriptural statement.

One may contend that the Self is not Bliss but it seeks Bliss. If it were true, why should there be happiness in relieving oneself of a crushing load? This is perceptible at the instant of relief and similar happiness prevails in dreamless slumber. In these two instances, there are no positive sources of pleasure and yet there it is. This pleasure is however real since it is within one's experience and cannot also be avoided. Therefore it must be of the nature of Self. Still, this pleasure may be said to be relief from pain, and not true pleasure. If so, why does a person awakened from sleep say "I slept happily"? The person has felt happiness in sleep. There are no happenings associated with that happiness; it is pure and must be of the nature of Self. Otherwise, even the worst savage or an animalcule would not relish sleep or even long for it.

The question arises! If bliss be of the Self, why is it not always felt? The answer is that the inherent bliss is obstructed by desire, obligations and predispositions of the mind, just as the perennial sound arising from within is not heard owing to the interference of external sounds but is perceived when the ears are plugged. The pain of the load predominates for the time being over the other natural painful dispositions of the mind and disappears at the instant of unburdening. During the interval before the other dispositions lying latent rise up to the surface, there is peace for an infinitesimal moment and that is the true Self coincident with pleasure. Other sensual pleasures are also to be explained in the same way. There is an infinite variety of predispositions lying dormant in the heart, ready to spring up at the right moment. They are always like thorns in the pillow. When one of them sticks out, it predominates over the others and grips the mind. Its manifestation takes the shape of an intense desire. Its prevalence is painful in proportion to its intensity.

When that subsides on fulfilment, the pain disappears, and calm prevails for an infinitesimal period, until the next predisposition appears. This interval represents the pleasure associated with the fulfilment of desire. Thus every one's rush for enjoyment betrays the search for Self—of course, unawares and confused. If asked why no one seems to know the real genesis of bliss, the answer is overwhelming ignorance born of associating the pleasure with such incidents. The opinion prevails that pleasure is caused by such and such, and is destroyed on their disappearance. The fact is that pleasure is simply the Self, and eternal.

95. "People do not recognise the Bliss inhering as their Self, because of their ignorance. They always associate pleasure with incidents.

96–98. "Furthermore, just as images in a mirror are associated with objects, ignoring the presence of the reflecting surface, but after consideration are found to be dependent on the mirror and not apart from it, and the mirror is found to be untainted by the reflected images, so also the sages know the Self alone to be unique, real and untainted by its own projections, namely, the world, etc.

99. "The relation of the Cosmos to Pure Intelligence, *i.e.*, abstract Self, is like that of a pot to earth, or of an ornament to gold, or of sculpture to the granite rock.

100. "O Paraśurāma! Denial of the existence of the world does not amount to perfection. Denial is absurd. For, it implies intelligence, and intelligence displays itself as the universe.

101. "The intelligence denying or admitting the world is there shining over all! Can the world be erased out of existence by mere denial of it?"

Note.—Here the point is that the Absolute is alone real and remains ever absolute, notwithstanding the concrete modifications which are no better than images in a mirror, not tainting it, nor existing apart from it. All are real, but real in their abstraction.

102. "Just as the images appear in a mirror and partake of its nature, so also the Cosmos is of and in the Self, and real inasmuch as it is the Self."

Note.—The world is not real as an object and apart from the Self.

103–105. "Thus wisdom in perfection is the realisation of all as the Self. Intelligence appears as objects by its own virtue, as a mirror appears as the images on it. This is the whole essence of the *śāstras.* There is no bondage, no liberation, no aspirant, no process of attainment. The transcendental Conscious Principle alone subsists in the three states of being. She remains as the one uniform, absolute being. She is ignorance ; She is wisdom ; She is bondage ; She is liberation and She is the process therefor.

106. "This is all that need be known, understood and realised. There is nothing more. I have told you all in order.

107–111. "The man who knows it rightly will never be overtaken by misery. O Nārada ! Such is the section on Wisdom, recondite with reason, subtlety, and experience. Should any one not gain wisdom after hearing or reading it but continue to wallow in ignorance, he should be put down as nothing more than a stock or a stone. What hope is there for him ?

"Hearing it even once must make a man truly wise ; he is sure to become wise. Sin or obstruction to wisdom is destroyed by reading it ; wisdom dawns on hearing it. Writing, appreciating and discussing its contents respectively destroys the sense of duality, purifies the mind and reveals the abiding Truth.

112. "She goes by the name of Emancipation when clearly and directly realised by investigation as the one undivided Self of all ; otherwise, She goes by the name of Bondage. She is the one Consciousness threading the three states of being, but untainted and unbroken by them. She is the sound word and the significance of *Hrīm.*"

Thus ends the concluding Chapter in the most Sacred *Itihāsa, Tripurara Rahaśya.*

(*To be continued*)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

New Series No. III

The Pigeon and the Sparrow in Nepalese Folk-Song

By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Nepalese have an extensive repertory of folk-songs of which they seem to be very fond. Hence, Nepal has been very aptly designated as "Sweet Nepal, the Land of Fine Folk-Songs". These folk-songs deal with a variety of subjects. From a study of the same, we may get interesting glimpses of the home life of the Nepalese. In two of these songs, the pigeon and the sparrow play an important part, as I shall show in this paper.

I

In one Nepali folk-song, a newly wedded girl is represented as bidding adieu to her parents prior to her departure for her husband's home. Her father is a great pigeon-fancier and possesses several fine pairs of pigeons. She, therefore, requests him to give her a pair of these birds. But he is so very fond of these birds that he refuses to give her the same, saying that he would very gladly give her a cow or an elephant in lieu of the pigeons. But, she refuses to take the cow or the elephant, saying that these beasts would be quite useless to her. She weeps bitterly on seeing her father's obstinacy. At last, he feels compassion for her and agrees to give her a pair of the much coveted pigeons. On this, the daughter becomes highly glad and says that she would perform the household work in her husband's home with the greatest alacrity by hearing the sweet cooings of the pigeons. The text of the song runs as follows:—

"1. Nine pairs of pigeons are sitting on thy roof, father.
2. Give me, O give me, father, a pair of pigeons.
3. A cow, O! a cow shall I give thee, daughter.
4. Sorry am I that I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.
5. What will I do with thy cow, father!

6. O ! Luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.
7. An elephant shall I give thee, daughter !
8. Sorry am I, I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.
9. What will I do with thy elephant, father !
10. O ! Luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.

(Then the father, being unable to bear the sight of her daughter weeping bitterly for the pigeons, consents to give her a pair of these birds and says :)

11. Weep not, O ! weep not, daughter dear ! Weep not.
12. At once shall I give thee a pair of pigeons."

(Hearing the father's reassuring words, the girl's heart is filled with great joy, to which she gives vent by singing :)

"13. The household work at my husband's place,
14. Shall I always gladly perform, father !
15. Hearing the sweet cooings of the pair of pigeons."

II

In a second Nepalese folk-song, a married Nepalese girl, who has gone over to her husband's place, is constantly reprimanded by her cruel mother-in-law, becomes sorrow-stricken by the scurvy treatment which is being meted out to her by the latter, implores a sparrow to fly to her parent's village and convey to them the news of her woe-begone condition. But, at the same time, she warns the bird to be so careful as not to let her brother and sister get an inkling of her sorrowful message, lest, by hearing of it, they become distressed in their minds on her account. The text of this second song is given below :—

1. Of so much love for mother dear,
2. Should I sing, O golden sparrow !
3. Of how much love for father dear,
4. Should I sing, O golden sparrow !
5. How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
6. How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow !
7. Fly, fly, O fly to my mother's village

8. And carry my news, O golden sparrow !
9. If my mother questions thee, tell her
10. For her mother-in-law's cruelty thy daughter is dying.
11. Tell my brother, thy sister is all right
12. If he asks, O golden sparrow !
13. If my father questions thee, tell him
14. For her mother-in-law's cruelty, thy daughter is dying.
15. Tell my sister, "Thy sister is alright",
16. If she asks, O golden sparrow !
17. How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
18. How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow ! [1]

From a study of the foregoing Nepalese folk-songs, we find that: —

1. The Nepalese, both men and women, are great pigeon-fanciers and are very much fond of pigeons.

2. The married Nepalese girls, when they go over to their husband's places, have to perform a good deal of household work in order to please their mothers-in-law.

3. So hard have these girls to work that, in order to enliven themselves during the performance of their laborious and tedious tasks, they love to hear the sweet call-notes of birds, such as the cooings of pigeons.

4. If they fail to perform their household work to the satisfaction of their mothers-in-law, the latter constantly reprimand the former and otherwise treat them cruelly.

5. They put up with the mother-in-law's cruelty patiently and uncomplainingly.

6. There is a good deal of affection between the Nepalese boys and their sisters so much so that the latter are very much unwilling to inform their brothers of their own troubles and tribulations lest the latter become sorrow-stricken on hearing of their sister's woes.

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[1] *Vide* the article, "Sweet Nepal—A Land of Folk-songs", in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta), for November 1934, pp. 508–517.

7. The pigeon, mentioned in the aforementioned song and much petted by the Nepalese, appears to belong to any one of the three species:—(1) *Columba intermedia*, Strickl., the Blue Rock Pigeon; (2) *Columba rupestris*, Pall., the Blue Hill Pigeon; and (3) *Columba leuconota*, Vig., the White-Bellied Pigeon.

All these three species of pigeons have their habitat in the hilly regions round about the territory of Nepal, as will appear from the specimens of them which have been collected from the Himalayas (Garhwal), Kumaun Terai, Munshiari (Himalayas) and which are now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.[2]

8. The sparrow, referred to in the second of the foregoing folk-songs, appears to be the Cinnamon-backed Sparrow (*Passer*-Cinnamomus, Gould), which has its habitat in Bhimtal, Kumaun (Himalayas), Naini, Sarju Valley, Lohaghat, Almora, and Pithoragarh, all of which localities are situated in the regions surrounding Nepal. Specimens of this species of sparrow are included in the collection of the Lucknow Provincial Museum.[3] The Nepalese are, therefore, familiar with this sparrow.

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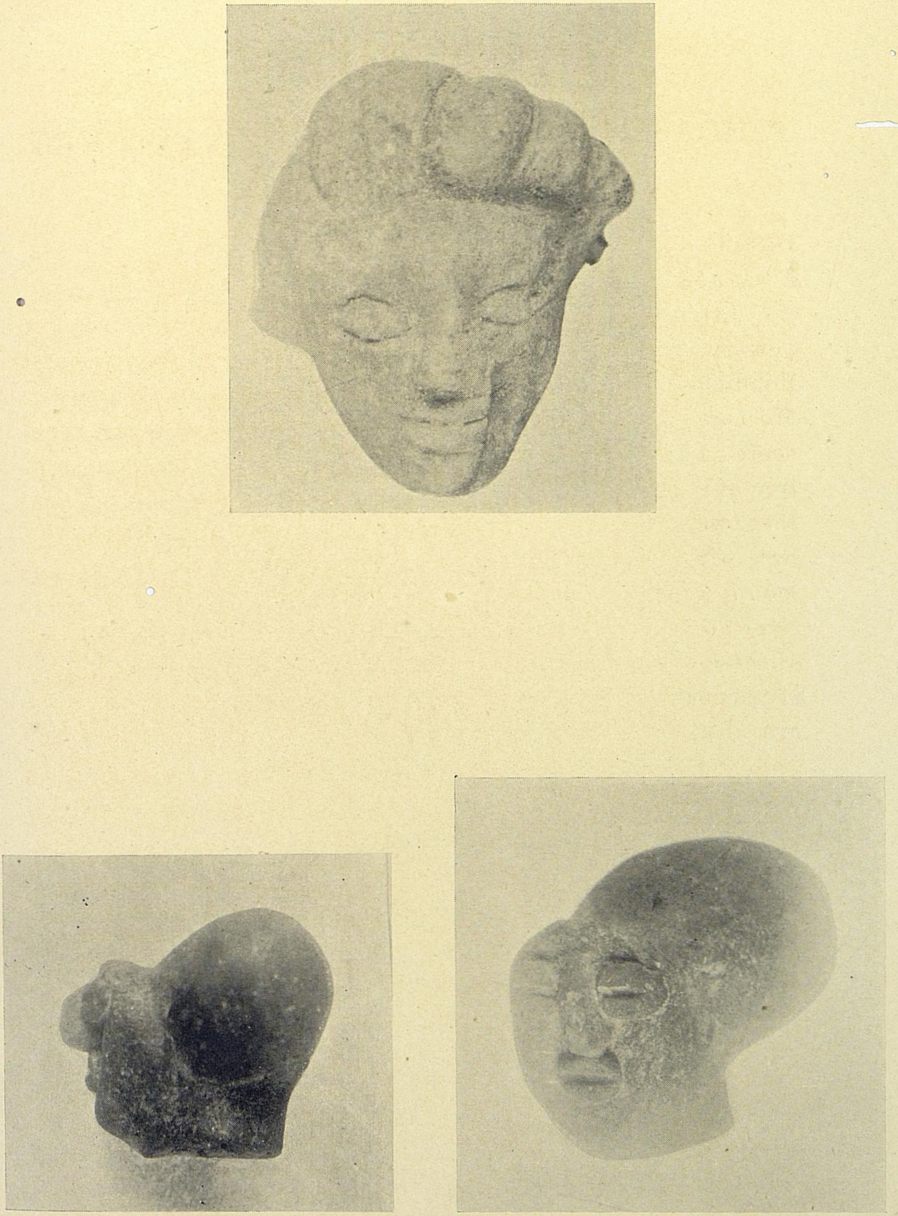
[2] Vide *Catalogue of the Birds in the Provincial Museum, N.W.P. and Oudh, Lucknow* (1st April 1889). Allahabad: N.W.P. and Oudh Government Press, 1890, p. 222.

Op. cit., pp. 204–205.

A NOTE ON THE TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT PONDICHERRY

DURING my visit to Pondicherry in the Christmas of 1939, I was able to see, through the courtesy of Mons. G. J. Dubreuil, the distinguished archæologist and antiquarian, specimens of pottery which he recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry on French soil. They have been now sent to the Museum at Madras and persons interested may inspect them there. I am confirmed in the following by a further examination of these specimens at Madras recently. Amongst the finds, there were three terra-cotta figures, two of which are reproduced here with the kind permission of Mons. Dubreuil. At Danatumodu, south of Tirukanji (near Villianour about five miles from Pondicherry), these have been found. As regards the age of these, Mons. Dubreuil does not express any opinion. Beads, ornamental pottery and stones were discovered at Arikemoudu near Kakaiyan tope (Viram Paṭṭaṇam), also about two miles from Pondicherry. The pottery bear marked resemblance to the pottery discovered near the Lal-Bagh at Bangalore, specimens of which it was my privilege, some time ago, to send to the Museum at Bangalore. At Viram Paṭṭaṇam was also discovered, by Mons. Dubreuil, an interesting Buddha image which compares very favourably with a similar image at Sinnapuram in the Garden of Eden in Pondicherry itself. The latter image appears to have been brought from very near Cuddalore, decades ago. I do not say anything about this image as Mr. Karunendiran Mudaliar, the owner of the Garden of Eden, has kindly promised to give an account of these Buddha images. At Viram Paṭṭaṇam also are to be found two statuettes of Aḻagappan and his wife, who to judge from the inscriptions at Cidambaram, made an endowment to the Natarāja temple there. He was Savoudi-maniyam in Dupleix's times and is mentioned in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.



Three Terra-Cotta Figures at Pondicherry

Pondicherry is rich in archæological material and historic tradition and I am grateful to Mons. Dubreuil for permitting me to publish photos of these terra-cotta figures which open up possibilities of the existence of a civilization in South India far anterior to any so far known to us.

S. S.

REVIEWS

Guide to Halebid. (By Dr. M. H. Krishna. Price Re. 0–4–0.)

Guide to Seringapatam. (By Dr. M. H. Krishna. Price Re. 0–4–0.)

Guide to Talkad. (By Dr. M. H. Krishna. Price Re. 0–4–0.)

Visit Mysore ; Where to Go and What to See in Mysore ; Holiday Touring in Mysore ; Where to Go and What to See in Bangalore ; Picturesque Mysore ; Mysore State Railways—Majestic Mysore ; Travel in Mysore. (Published by the Publicity Officer to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Copies of the above could be had from the Superintendent, Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore.)

THE attention to the story of Halebid was drawn by me in my lecture before the Mythic Society which printed it in the *QJMS.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185–204, twenty-three years ago and it is very comforting for me to observe that at long last a short guide to Halebid has been published for the Government of Mysore by Dr. Krishna. There is a nice Kannada work called *Halebīdu Purātana Charitre* published in Kanarese by Shivananje Gowda, Patel of Halebid, more than thirty years ago. The *Guides to Talkad and Seringapatam, Where to Go and What to See in Bangalore, Visit Mysore, Where to Go and What to See in Mysore, Holiday Touring in Mysore, Travel in Mysore*, are all small, neat, handy, attractive pamphlets on the glories of Mysore, past and present. *Travel in Mysore* is a bigger, illustrated and attractive account of the Mysore State. *The Mysore State Railway* is another pamphlet of *Majestic Mysore* and also gives some more information and help us in touring Mysore. All these are excellent little things on the top of which comes *Picturesque Mysore* to describe which it is difficult to find words. No effort has been spared to make the work attractive, interesting

and useful. Nothing which is worth seeing in Mysore has been omitted and we congratulate the Mysore Government on this excellent piece of work.

S. S.

Living Buddhism. (By Ben Jayavardana. Published by the Buddhist Lodge, 37, South Eaton Place, London, S.W. 1. Price 6*d*.)

THE author feels that the Bhikkus of the Island of Ceylon are wasting their energy, time and resources on unessentials like temple service, teaching the *pancāsilās* and the negative precepts, instead of stressing on the *pāramitās*, the positive virtues, the development of which alone would lead one to Buddhahood, enlightenment. This purpose could have been better achieved by helping the Bhikku to reform himself and by putting the ordinary layman in the way to mend him. Even in the case of men who have risen a trifle higher than the level of ordinary goodness, great and constant effort is required to keep the height attained, as the slightest want of awareness would cost them a fall. The difficulty in the path we tread is inherent. If a few only live the noble life and if the majority have no attraction for it, there is surely something radically wrong somewhere. Men easily learn to follow or copy vice even without a master but not virtue in spite of a really first-rate teacher.

This booklet raises the ever-present old problem, a solution to which has baffled the masterminds and wisely narrows its scope to Ceylon. Sooner or later ways and means should be devised to mend the Society (*Sangha*).

P. S. L.

Revealing India's Past. (Edited by Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A. Published by the India Society, 3, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1. Price 25*sh*.)

Revealing India's Past, published by the India Society, is a co-operative record of archæological conservation and exploration in India and beyond by twenty-two authorities,

British, Indian and Continental, edited by the Vice-Chairman of the School of Oriental Studies, Sir John Cumming, with a *Foreword* by Alfred Foucher, member of the Institute of France. The frontispiece is plate one containing a terra-cotta head of a Bodhisattva from Taxila. It is a superb example of the Indo-Afghan school of the fifth century A.D., an expression of Bodhisattva's divine love and compassion for mankind. No better example could have been selected for a frontispiece. The map is thorough and illustrative of the several cultures in India—Pre-historic, Buddhist, Hindu, Muhammadan and others. The Archæological Department in India was founded in 1862 under General (afterwards Sir) Alexander Cunningham as Director of Archæology and his survey extended to Madras and Bombay in 1874. Burgess and General Cunningham were the beginners of Indian archæology and we may take this opportunity of expressing our great gratitude to them for paving the way to the preservation of Indian archæology. In order to prevent our greatest monuments of the past from sinking into a deplorable condition Lord Lytton arranged to have a Curator of ancient monuments to preserve the national antiquities and works of art but it was really Lord Curzon who was responsible for the New Era in Indian archæology. He recognized the encouragement of research and the preservation of the relics of the past as a duty and as a part of Imperial obligation to India. Indian monuments are unsurpassed for variety, extent, steadiness and beauty, perhaps, unequalled in the world.

Sir John Marshall arrived in India in 1902 to dig and to discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. The volume of work accomplished is great but still more remains to be done and Sir John Marshall is entitled to the pride which he naturally and legitimately feels on the great achievement from the commencement of the century to the present day of the remarkable band of archæologists, European and Indian, in this country under his lead. The finest temples of the Hoysala art magnificent in design, delicate in execution and

unsurpassed in beauty, are to be found in Mysore and Sir John Marshall gave suggestions for their preservation thirty-five years ago and thousands upon thousands of rupees have been spent on them but unfortunately the work of renovation appears suggestive of the decay of modern Indian handicrafts. Unless India can get another patron of the art like Lord Curzon, it is difficult to conceive of the large outlay for archæological exploration and research work. The weathering and decay of stone monuments is a serious problem and no satisfactory experiment has yet provided against the action of rain water aided by carbon dioxide and oxygen of the air. The action of soluble salts on the decay of monuments is another trouble, which has yet defied solution.

The pre-historic and proto-historic civilization in India is described by N. G. Majumdar with an illustrative map of pre-historic sites in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan. An account of the Buddhist monuments is given by Daya Ram Sahni. Taxila and Mathura are dealt with by Vogel. Our knowledge of the cultural history of the north-west, between the seventh century B.C. and the fifth century A.D., was revolutionized by the long and comprehensive campaign carried out by Sir John Marshall at Taxila. The Bhir Mound was the site of the earliest city, of say about the seventh century B.C.,—well on in the Iron Age and long after the Vedic 'Village-state'; still longer after the eclipse of the Indus Valley Civilization. The planning of streets and houses is very irregular. The houses are built of very rough stone masonry of the rubble variety. In the second city the masonry has improved but in the third one, a Mauryan City of the fifth century B.C., the stone work is neat and compact made without the aid of lime-mortar. Large numbers of *ex-voto* figurines, toys and other objects are noticeable. The second transformation of the city and its culture was in the beginning of the second cutury B.C. With the advent of the Greeks and in the following centuries they were displaced by the Sakas who reduced the size of the Greek cities and constructed shorter lines of fortifications made of stone instead of earth. Vogel suggests that the Sakas possessed an art

mainly imitative of the Hellenic models. At page 145 we are further told that the Greeko-Roman influence, particularly of the Gandhara school of sculpture, was due to the Hellenistic tendency of the Parthians and that the finds in the Parthian city in Sirkap showed that in the first century A.D. the Gandhara school was still in its adolescence and did not reach its maturity until after the north-west had passed under the yoke of the Kuśanas. Further onwards we are told the magnificent series of sculptures ranging in date from the first to the fifth century A.D. enables us to recognize the existence in the fifth century of an important school of sculpture quite distinct from the Gandhara school though retaining as it were some of its traditions. Certain observations have been made by Ganguly in his article on the Buddha image reviewed in these pages (Vol. XXX, No. 2, pp. 278–81). The question of the inter-relation of what is called the Gandhara school and the Indian images requires further scrutiny. The last chapter by Hearn indicates how a tourist can visit the great relics of India's past with convenient halts and landings. We agree with Alfred Foucher that the brightest outlook for the future of Indology is in the wide intellectual co-operation, which we see in existence, of this Herculean task.

Dr. Krishna has written on Mysore and no one interested in Mysore can forget the debt Mysore owes to the late Mr. Rice, for archæological exploration and epigraphical work and for his labours in connection with Kannada literature. In all these respects Rice is Mysore. The edicts revealed the extent of the Mauryan Empire into the Deccan. The history of the Kadambas was disclosed by the Talagunda Pillar. The Bhadrabāhu caves at Sravaṇabelgoḷa took us back to Candragupta Maurya. The Vokkaleri plates threw new light on the Cāḷukyas and the relations between the Rāṣtrakūṭas, the Gangas and the Cōḷas were described in the lithic record of Atkur.

S. S.

Modern Mysore. (By A. Padmanabha Iyer, Journalist, Karamanai, Trivandrum, Travancore State. Price Rs. 2.)

Modern Mysore by A. Padmanabha Iyer, is still another work by a journalist of Trivandrum containing the impressions of a visitor to Mysore. We have already referred to other publications by the people of Mysore, published by the Government, but this is a work of an outsider with an Introduction by Sir William Barton, a British Resident in Mysore, and dedicated to Sir Mirza M. Ismail who, in no small measure, is responsible for the progress which Mysore has achieved in recent years.

S. S.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Vol. XII, 1937. (Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.)

Kern Institute has been successful in publishing this work for 1937 and we are glad that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda and His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin have continued their patronage. We wish this record of Indian archæology will be placed on a permanent basis. In the Introduction, excavations at Harappa are described by Vats, who says that Harappa was contemporary with Mohenjo-daro, the evidence of miniature tiny seals at Harappa showing that Harappa was far anterior to the earliest excavations which it has been possible to reach at Mohenjo-daro. Indian Numismatics in 1937 is dealt with by Richard Burn. At page 12, Mr. Whitehead admits the existence of a temple to the sun at Multan though perhaps not built by Tōramāna. A reference is made to *Revealing India's Past*, already reviewed, in the forthcoming publications. Under the heading archæological researches in the principal Indian States, we regret Mysore is omitted. We hope that attempts will be made to include Mysore. The plates are excellent and illustrative of the work described.

S. S.

Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal. (By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 55. Published by the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi. Price Rs. 24 or 37*sh.*)

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT gives a very interesting account of the excavations at Paharpur in Bengal. We hope his recent visit to Mysore will give a fillip to the archæological work in the State. Paharpur lies in the midst of the flat alluvial plain in the north-west of Bengal, standing out of a local eminence, twenty-nine miles to the north-west of Mahāstan. Particularly at the time Hieun-Tsang visited, the Jaina and Brahmanical religions were more prevalent than that of Buddhism and it was with the advent of the Pālas who professed the Buddhist religion that some of its parts became great Buddhist centres. The type of plan on which the main temple at Paharpur was erected is unknown to Indian archæology as also its further development on Indian soil. Its cruciform shape with angles of projection between arms with carved brick cornices, friezes of terra-cotta plaques and stone reliefs are not found in all the developed styles of temple architecture in India : nor can it be supposed to have evolved from the ancient Buddhist *Stupa* as its symmetrical arms constitute an entirely novel development. The plan is very simple and concise. The monastery in the place is easily the biggest Sangharama that was ever erected in India for Buddhist monks, being a complete quadrangle measuring 822 feet externally on each side. The coins found there include three of a unique type showing a rather clumsily depicted bull on the obverse and three fish on the reverse, and two belonging to the well-known type of Vigrahapāla I. The most numerous specimens of antiquity from Paharpur are the terra-cotta plaques the vast majority of which numbering about two thousand still lie *in situ*. An intensive study of the plaques as they stand *in situ*, fails to bring out any regular sequential arrangement and it looks as if it was a chance that determined the human figure was to be followed by a striding monkey, a goose or a conch. This is in marked contrast with what you find

in the scenes of Anurādhapura and Polanaruva and in the friezes of the Hoysala temples, all of stone. In the Satyapir Bhitā as one of the plaques terra-cotta was being washed, was found a circular hollow of ¾″ filled with earth which, when removed, contained two ⅛″ seals placed face to face.

S. S.

Kausāmbi in Ancient Literature. (By Dr. Bimla Churn Law. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 60. Price Rs. 1–10–0 or 2*sh*. 6*d*.)

THE material for the story of Kausāmbi is drawn from literary sources—Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhistic—, inscriptions, legends on coins and travels and journals of Fa Hien and Hiuen-Tsang. We are indebted to Dr. B. C. Law for the excellent picture he gives of the ancient and famous royal capital of the Vatsa Empire and the Viceregal seat of a great dependency (the Bhagga Country) in the days of the Buddha. The centre of common interest to the followers of the Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhistic faiths has been narrated by the author that this city which gave the name to the country itself was very prosperous for the larger part of the Buddha's career as a teacher. With the advent of the despotic Udayana, even literary taste degenerated and the Sanskrit plays of Bhāsa and Harṣa depict the exploits and romantic marriages of this unfortunate king of Kausāmbi. This once flourishing city is now a village-site identified with Kośam on the northern bank of the River Yamuna, a tributary to the Ganges.

P. S. L.

Unity Through Religion. (Compiled by Vedatīrtha Sakuntala Sastri, 210–6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.)

MRS. SAKUNTALA SASTRI'S compilation of the *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths*, held at Madras in 1938, under the Presidentship of the Maharaja of Pithapuram, serves the twofold object of uniting all the faiths and then combining their adherents into one

bond of universal brotherhood. Among the interesting subjects discussed may be mentioned: (i) Approach to world understanding through religion, (ii) Synthesis between science and religion, and (iii) How to induce the present generation to take interest in religion. But the speakers appear to have been keen on advertising the tolerant and universal nature of the faith which they professed than of expatiating in synthetic harmony on the great truths underlying all religions.

P. S. L.

The Library of the India Office: A Historical Sketch. (By A. J. Arberry, Litt.D., with a *Foreword* by the Most Hon. The Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Published by the order of the Secretary of State for India, at the India Office, London.)

DURING 140 years the India Office Library has grown from a private repository of the East India Company in Leaden Hall Street to a National and Imperial possession of the world's celebrated specialist Oriental Library in White Hall, London. The brief but very helpful non-technical description of the contents of the volumes of this library whose abundant material relation to Indian affairs is bound to excite the interest and exercise the ingenuity of scholars for many generations to come is very welcome. The personal sketches of those connected with its foundation which synchronises with the Orientalist movement as well as Peter Gordon's "*quips*" at Milkins, its first veteran librarian make delightful reading. Some of Gordon's reproaches were removed in course of time and with the scrapping up of the Indian Museum which grew along with it the Library was able to effect improvements, show orderliness in place of chaos and offer increasing facilities to students desirous of using the resources at its command. We are confident this historical sketch will serve to popularise this magnificent reference library with a complement of some 20,000 manuscripts and 2,30,000 printed books relating to Indian affairs.

P. S. L.

Sanskrit

Nyāyakuliśa or the Lightning Shaft of Reason. (By Atreya Ramanuja, edited by Ramanujachari, M.A., and Pandit K. Srinivasacharya. Published by the University of Annamalai, Annamalainagar P.O.)

Nyāyakuliśa is a work on Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy written in stiff prose interspersed with poetry. The thirteen chapters of this work are devoted to a consideration of thirteen subjects, some of which are common to all schools of Vedānta. In the chapters on the *Khyātivāda* and the *Samanādhikaraṇya Lakṣaṇānuvāda*, the author criticises the views held by the Advaitins and the Bhedābhedavādins. The chapters on the *Śarīra Lakṣaṇavāda*, *Bhāvāntarabhāvavāda* and the *Kaivalya-vāda* treat of doctrines peculiar to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. In the chapter on the *Bhāvāntarabhāvavāda*, the author maintains the cardinal principle of this school, *viz.*, the non-existence of the absolute negation of a substance. If a particular substance is absent in a certain place at a certain time, he argues that it does not mean the non-existence of the absolute negation of that substance. On the contrary it proves the existence of the absolute negation of that substance different from the one that was thought of at that time. This is the philosophical way of stating the modern scientific dictum, *viz.*, " Nature abhors a vaccum ".

The last chapter of this work refers to *Kaivalya* on which the Viśiṣṭādvaitins hold conflicting views. The author mentions one view only. In *Kaivalya* the soul has, according to him, experience of its blissful nature, has no births and deaths and has obtained complete freedom from all bondage to *Karma*, which is the root-cause of all the pleasures and pains of worldly life. The essentially blissful nature of the Supreme Lord is not experienced in this state. But long after *Kaivalya* is attained, a person may experience *Bhakti* and then approach God with loving devotion. The other view of the Viśiṣṭādvaitins, not referred to here, does not accept this position. In *Kaivalya*, according to it, a soul has obtained complete

freedom from all bondage to *Karma*. After enjoying the fruits of *Karma*, it will be born again in the world.

The author of this work, Ātreya Rāmānuja, son of Padmanābhārya, is also known as *Vādihamsanavambudha*. The editors have identified this person with Ātreya Rāmānuja, son of Ranga Rāmānuja, the spiritual guru of Vedānta Deśika, who calls himself by the title of *Vādihamsambuvaha*. We cannot say on what authority the editors say so. The *Gurupārampara* does not state that Ranga Rāmānuja, the father of Ātreya Rāmānuja, was also called by the name of Padmanābhārya. The editors seem to have ignored the word *Nava* appearing in the title *Vādihamsanavambudha*. They state that Vedānta Deśika has quoted passages from this work without giving references. It may as well be said that our author has quoted passages from that work.

The mistakes in the manuscripts are corrected and the corrections shown within brackets. All those interested in the study of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy will be grateful to the editors for publishing this remarkable work.

B. M.

Hindi

Srī Munisuvrata Kāvya. (Translated and edited by Pandit K. Bhujabali Sastri and Pandit Harnath Trivedi. Published by the Honorary Secretary, Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah.)

Munisuvrata, King of Rajagriha, is the twentieth Tīrthankara and he follows the form of Gautama's version in the *Uttara Purāṇa*. His parents were Sumitra and Padmāvati, and his son Vijaya. He renounced the world at the instance of Dhammavara, a sage, and after severe penance be became a Tīrthankara.

Temples, names, birth-places, auspicious qualities, ob servance of the birthdays and signs foretelling the birth of the Tīrthankaras are extolled by the author of the *Kāvya*, Arhad-daśa, who lived about 1300 A.D. He seems to have

been the author of two other Sanskrit works, namely, *Purudevachampu* and *Bhavyakanṭābharaṇa.*

B. M.

Gnānapradīpika and Śāmudrika Śāstram. (Translated and edited by Jotishacarya Pandita Ramvyasa Pandya. Published by the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah.)

Two Sanskrit works on Astrology, *Gnānapradīpika*, a prasna-śāstra; and *Sāmudrika Śāstra*, a work on psysiognamy or language of the hand, are claimed to be Jaina works but there is no clue either to the name or to the date of the author. The *Sāmudrika Śāstra* refers to Nārada and Samudra: but we cannot say who they are.

B. M.

Tamil

Pañjālamkuruchi Veera Charitram—Part I. (By Kavirāja Jagavīr Pandyar. Printed by the Rajeswari Press and published by the Tiruvallur Nilayam, Madura. Price Rs. 2.)

OLD memories of the Kottabommas whose first ancestor, an Andhra Poligar, migrated from Bellary and founded the Pāḷyapat, Pañjālamkuruchi, which he christened after his grandfather are revived in this book which is a contribution to the lives of the Indian heroes of the past. The exploits of the last of these poligars in his encounter with the East India Company appears to have provided a constant theme for the street-plays and folk-songs in Southern India. Encounter with the Collector, escape from secret assailants, trial and demeanour on the scaffold are vividly re-told in easy fluent Tamil. As Major Bannerman writes in his despatch to the Governor-General, the manner and behaviour of the poligar was undaunted and supercilious during his trial. He frequently eyed the poligars who helped the Company to secure his person with an appearance of indignant scorn: and when he was about to be executed he walked with a firm and daring air and cast look

of sullen contempt on them. However controlled, human nature asserted itself and on his way to the place of execution he expressed some anxiety for his dumb brother, while at the foot of the tree on which he was hanged he regretted having left his fort, in the defence of which it would have been better for him to have died.

P. S. L.

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